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A

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, *IN IRELAND,* FROM THE YEAR 1653 to 1700.

COMPILED AT THE REQUEST OF THEIR NATIONAL MEETING,
BY THOMAS WIGHT, OF CORK.

AFTERWARDS
REVISED, ENLARGED, and CONTINUED to the YFAR 1751,
BY JOHN RUTTY.

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THE
INTRODUCTION,
IN
TWO PARTS.

PART I.

Of the Faith of the primitive Christians, and the Apostacy from it, traced in some of its successive steps, until that part of the world called Christendom was almost totally overspread with a midnight of darkness and superstition.

WHEN I consider the efficacy of faith as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, whether among the elders who had not yet received the promises, but seen them afar off as described in the eleventh of the Hebrews; or among those who believed in Christ actually come in the flesh, as recorded in the New Testament, in the following (among many other) places, John i. 12. "To as many as received him gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name." Mark ix. 23. "All things are possible to him that believeth." Acts xv. 9. and xxvi. 18. "The hearts of both Jews and Gentiles were purified by faith;" and 1 John v. 4. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." James ii. 18. "I will shew thee my faith by my works." Eph. vi. 16. "The shield of faith, wherewith they were able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked:—I say when I consider this Scripture account of faith, I see clearly that it was a lively operative one, and such as

professed Christians of ungodly lives have no claim to ; for a dead faith may be reckoned either no faith at all, or (in some respect) to fall short of that of devils mentioned by the above-cited apostle James, of whom he says, that they not only believe but tremble, a disposition which many professing faith in Christ, are strangers to.

Now in my small reading I find also the accounts given of the early Christians, not only during the lives of the apostles, but for some time afterwards, to be such as imply that their faith also was of the same lively operative kind as that above described from the New Testament, and superior in efficacy to the dictates of mere reason.

‘ There appears,’ says Stillingfleet, l. 2. c. 9. of his *Origines sacræ*, ‘ to have been a divine efficacy in the first preaching of the gospel, far beyond that of the mere dictates of philosophy, which was not suited to all capacities, but to the few only, and even where it was suited to the capacities of men, did indeed render them more knowing, but rarely more good ; whereas the gospel did not only change men’s opinions and way of worship, but shewed its superior power, in turning them from their lusts, sensualities, and habitual sins.’

‘ We do indeed,’ continues he, ‘ read of one Phædon and one Polemon brought off from their debaucheries by Socrates and Xenocrates ; but what are these to the multitudes which by the mean and contemptible language of the apostles were converted from intemperance to sobriety, from injustice to fair dealing : from cowardice to the highest constancy ; yea so great as to lay down their lives for the sake of virtue ? and this is what Origen, in his books against Celsus, triumphs in, as the most signal evidence of a divine power in the doctrine of Christ.’

Agreeably to this, I find that, ‘ the Primitive Christians placed their religion, not in talking finely, but

in living well, nor did they esteem any Christians that merely professed, but such as lived as Christ commanded; and Tertullian openly declares that when men depart from the discipline of the gospel, they so far cease amongst us to be accounted Christians.*

But alas, how was the face of things changed, in process of time, and that faith which was once delivered to the saints cast off in the sense of the apostle, 1 Tim. v. 12? In short, an apostacy from the primitive purity and simplicity did creep in, and from small beginnings prevail at length so far as to render many parts of the Christian world as corrupt, and in some cases more so than the heathen.

Of such an apostacy befalling the Christian churches it hath seemed fit to the divine wisdom to forewarn us in the Revelation of John the divine, and several other places of the New Testament, of which it shall suffice at present to mention but two, viz. 1 John iv. "Many false prophets are gone out into the world, that spirit of Antichrist whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world," and 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4. "We beseech you, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand: let no man deceive you by any means, for that day shall not come except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God."

Accordingly when we come to consider by whose means it chiefly happened that the primitive beauty, purity and simplicity above hinted at, came to suffer an eclipse, we shall find that it was not by aliens and open adversaries, but by professed brethren: that the

* Cave's Primitive Christianity.

greatest enemies of the church were those of her own house, even as was said of Judas, John xiii. 18. "He that eateth bread with me hath lift up his heel against me," who kissed, and at the same time betrayed his Lord and Master: for indeed when we come to trace the origin and progress of the apostacy, we shall find that the great corrupters of Christianity have been the pretended disciples, apostles, and vicars of Christ Jesus, who by their conduct have brought infamy upon the Christian name and profession, and exposed it to that contempt with which it hath sometimes been treated.

Now in order that this may appear, I shall shew that the practices of those men have been the most barefaced contradictions to the precepts of their Lord; that from the humility, meekness, and love by him exemplified and recommended, they have degenerated into the most enormous degree of pride and cruelty, from a heavenly disposition of mind and contempt of worldly riches, into the most sordid and most oppressive covetousness; and that, as corruption of manners is commonly accompanied by that of judgment also, they have egregiously corrupted the primitive doctrine as well as discipline.

The true origin of this woeful apostacy seems to have been pretty deeply seated, viz. in the corruption of human nature: we are told that pride found admittance even among the angels, and degraded them from their heavenly stations. It also, through the insinuation of the serpent, found entrance into Paradise, and appears to have been one principal cause of the fall of our first parents. See Gen. iii. 5, 6. And if the wise man's maxim, Prov. xiii. 10. viz. "Only by pride cometh contention," be of universal extent, it seems to have possessed some of the Christians even of the early ages; and even so far as to have introduced among them the persecution, one of another: for what was it else that caused Victor,

bishop of Rome, in the second century, to raise so many broils in support of his opinion, upon a question of no more importance than this, On what day the Passover ought to be celebrated, and even to excommunicate all the churches of the lesser Asia, because they celebrated that festival on the 14th day of the First Month, and not on the First-day of the week following, as he would have had it?

And again, upon the same principle, what else but pride was the origin of those great contentions we read of, that the Christians in the fourth century fell into about their creeds?

And moreover, certain external accidents attending the church seem to have had no small share in fostering this pride incident to some of her members, that is to say, outward ease, liberty and an affluence of the riches of this world. When the church's fortune grew better, her sons grew worse, and some of her fathers, (as a learned author observes) worst of all: and indeed, as far as I have learned, the most memorable æra from whence we may date the corruption of Christians was, when the church, through the favour of Emperors, became endowed with lands, possessions, and patrimonies, so that (in the words of Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, Vol. I. p. 716.) ‘the bishops thereof, feeling the smack of wealth, ease, and prosperity, began to swell in pomp and pride,’ where I also read, that about this time a voice was heard, as it were from Heaven, over the city of Constantinople, saying, “ This day is poison poured forth into the churches.”

That lordly imposing spirit, which I have hinted at as creeping in among some of the leading men, even in the early times, grew much more flagrant in succeeding ages; and to such a degree, that in process of time, upon the growing pride of the prelates and corruption of the people, a spiritual sovereignty was erected, a separate jurisdiction was established and tyrannically exercised over the rest of mankind. Thus

the word Church, which, in Scripture language, signifies any number of persons who embraced the doctrine of the gospel, and worshipped God in the name of Jesus Christ, was in process of time wrested from the people, and appropriated, together with the power thereto belonging, to a certain set of men who called themselves the clergy. Now this was a mere novelty, and utterly inconsistent with the primitive example. For, ‘in the apostolick age, the laity bore a part in the most solemn deliberations which concerned the interest and government of the church. The whole number of believers was consulted in the choice of a fit person to succeed in the apostleship after Judas. The apostles, elders, and brethren, or as it is otherwise expressed in the 15th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, the church, or all the multitude assembled at Jerusalem to deliberate on the great question, How far the gentile converts were obliged to submit to the law of Moses: and after the assembly had proceeded, not by apostolical authority, but in the way of a rational and free debate, they came to a resolution, which they communicated to the churches, convened in the name of the whole body. Nor indeed did any of the bishops of the first three hundred years after Christ claim any separate exclusive powers for the exercise of church discipline, but left these matters to the provincial and diocefan consistories, which, in the purer ages of the church, were composed of bishops, clergy, and laity.’*

Hence, in the laws of the Anglo Saxons, we find a perpetual mixture of ecclesiastical and civil laws †; nor was it until the papal power grew to a monstrous height, under the Norman kings, that the clergy claimed a privilege of debating apart all matters, that in any wise related to religion, in ecclesiastical assem-

* Examination of the bishop of London’s ‘ Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani,’ published in London, 1735.

† Rapin’s History of England.

blies or synods. Even in the time of king Henry I. we meet with plain proofs of the civil court retaining their ancient jurisdiction in ecclesiastical causes ; but in the time of king Henry II. the two courts, ecclesiastical and civil, are constantly spoken of as distinct, and enjoying separate jurisdictions : and herein the clergy had the countenance and authority of pope Innocent II. (who began his reign A. D. 1130, and died 1143), who at this very juncture excluded the laity from all pontifical assemblies at Rome.*

And here it seems worthy of observation, that the celibacy of the clergy was not established until this time, or pretty near it ; for in the New Testament, (1 Tim. iv. 1, 3) the prohibition of marriage is reckoned among the marks of apostacy and doctrines of devils, and even in the year of our Lord 601, marriage was allowed to priests that could not live continently ; but in the year 1102, in the reign of king Henry I. a national synod was held, of which the fourth canon forbids the clergy to marry, or to live with their wives already married ; † and this point once gained was a great step towards putting in execution the project the pope had formed, of rendering the clergy independent of the civil power, and incorporating them into a society apart, which should be governed by its own laws : and indeed whilst the priests had children of their own, it was a hard matter to prevent them from having some dependence on their princes, whose favour has so great an influence on the fortune of private persons ; but being without families, and consequently in expectation of no great matters from their sovereign, they were more at liberty to stick by the pope, who would be looked upon as the sovereign of the clergy.‡

This however he did not attain to, till after a series

* See the place before cited. † Rapin's History of England, Vol. II.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II.

of ages of growing darkness and ignorance. For the bishop of Rome at first had no more authority than others, nor was Rome deemed a mother church until the time of Boniface III. who did not begin to preside till after the year of our Lord 600, and obtained from the emperor Phocas, that the see of Rome should be acknowledged the head of all other churches: for before that, the Constantinopolitan church was accounted the highest, as Jerusalem was before: nor did the church of Rome remarkably exercise her sway over England until the 7th or 8th century. The ancient Britons had been converted to Christianity by the apostles, or some of their disciples,* and adhered to the rites prescribed to them by their first teachers: and when Austin the monk came into England, being sent by pope Gregory I, chiefly urging this one point, that they should submit to the authority of the pope, the church of Rome having made several innovations in the celebrating divine service, to which they pretended all other churches ought to conform, the British bishops refused to submit to any alterations, professing that they owed no more deference to the bishop of Rome than to any other Christian bishop: however, by and by, they submitted their necks to the yoke, for A.D. 669, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, as soon as he came into England, made a visit to all the churches in his jurisdiction, and brought the people to a thorough conformity to the usages of the church of Rome; and A.D. 735, the English archbishops went to Rome to receive the pall.[†]

Besides the celibacy of the clergy, there was yet another stratagem, by which the dominion of this

* "The first springing of Christ's gospel in England was in the time of king Lucius, in the year of our Lord 180, and the continuance of it from thence to the entrance of the Infidel Saxons, was 302 years. The decay of the same, to the entrance of Austin the monk, was 143 years." Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. I. p. 104.

[†] Rapin's *History of England*, Vol. I.

mighty prince was extended far and near; of which Puffendorf, in his Spiritual Monarchy of the Church of Rome, gives us the following account:

"The popes claimed the supreme direction over the universities, whereby these were rendered mainly instrumental in maintaining the popish sovereignty. For, in the universities, men are first tinctured with such opinions as they are afterwards to make use of during their whole life, and instil them into others: and it was for this reason, that the sciences there to be taught were sure to be accommodated to the pope's interest. Here the professors of divinity, those of the canon law, and even the philosophers, were the creatures and slaves of the pope; and indeed the divinity and philosophy professed in these universities, were not taught with an intention to make the young students more learned and understanding, but that the ingenuous, by confused and idle terms, might be diverted from thoroughly canvassing those matters which would have led them to the whole discovery of the popish intrigues: for their school-divinity is not employed in searching the Holy Scripture, but for the most part entangled in useless questions, invented chiefly by Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and other patriarchs of pedantry: and what they call philosophy is nothing else but a collection of foolish chimeras, empty terms, and very bad Latin, the knowledge of which is rather hurtful than profitable. So that all their aim was, to take care that the sciences should not be fundamentally taught; and above all the rest, the most useful of all, the doctrine of morality is much misinterpreted, and entangled in an endless labyrinth, that the fathers confessors may not want means to domineer over laymen's consciences, and that these may be rendered incapable to examine and rule their actions according to solid principles, but be obliged to be guided blindfold, at the pleasure of their fathers confessors." So far Puffendorf.

Agreeable to all this was one singular master-stroke of insolence which deserves particular notice. It so happened, that many of the popish institutions were directly contrary to the precepts and examples recorded in the New Testament: one thing therefore was necessary, which once admitted obviates entirely this difficulty to their reception, and that was to decree, as pope Nicholas did about the year 870, that the pope's laws and letters should be of equal authority with the Scriptures.

And again, whereas the security of the kingdom of this spiritual sovereign stood in darkness and ignorance, he and his adherents finding it necessary, in order to maintain themselves in the peaceable possession of this their kingdom, did arrogate unto themselves a right of censuring and licensing all sorts of books whatsoever; by which means, they were effectually empowered to hinder any thing from coming to light, which might be prejudicial to their own interest.

But it was not sufficient for this mighty prince, thus to have established to himself an empire over the consciences of men in spiritual matters, but he must exercise it also in temporals, and over kings and emperors.

Indeed the example of him who was Lord of all, who was the most perfect pattern of humility and meekness, stood in his way, as did also that express declaration of his to his disciples, (Mark x.) "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them; but so it shall not be among you; but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister, and whosoever will be the chiefest shall be servant of all;" and therefore it seemed to him but decent, to put on the cloke of humility, and call himself Servus Servorum; but if one were to judge from his conduct, he were in

reality rather King of kings, and Lord of lords, viz. when he took upon him the disposal of kingdoms and empires, as is well known of pope Adrian IV. who gave this kingdom of Ireland unto Henry II. king of England, and of pope Innocent III. who A. D. 1195, crowned Otho the emperor, and afterwards deposed him again, saying, ‘It lies in my power to set up and pluck down emperors, kings, and princes, at my pleasure, for all power is given unto me both in heaven and in earth.’ And by the same pope was the kingdom of England interdicted, king John excommunicated, and his subjects absolved from their oaths of allegiance; and in the year of our Lord 1212, the king was deposed, and the kingdom of England and lordship of Ireland, by him resigned unto the pope: and the same king did thenceforward acknowledge himself a vassal to the holy see, and as such bound himself to pay the yearly tribute of one thousand marks, viz. seven hundred for England and three hundred for Ireland.* That the popes did really, in some of the most essential concerns, invade the rights of princes to a great degree, may appear from hence, that pope John XXII. by his sole authority published a truce between England and Scotland, against the consent of one of the parties, and empowered his legates to conclude a peace between the two kingdoms, upon what terms they pleased, with orders to compel the two kings and their subjects punctually to keep it, under pain of excommunication.†

Next to the pope’s pride, it remains that I give some account of his cruelty.

The great and glorious event of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, was introduced by that angelic acclamation, (Luke xi. 14.) “Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace and good-will to men;” and Christ himself was the author of the new commandment, (John xiii. 34, 35), “Love one another,” and laid

* Rapin’s History of England. † Ibid. Vol. IV.

down this as a standing characteristic by which his disciples should be distinguished, viz. that they loved one another.

Now, if war, bloodshed, and the destruction of one another (even among the professors of faith in the same Jesus) be instances of peace and marks of love and good-will to men, then the pretended vicar of Christ Jesus had them; but if these things be marks of hatred, he wants the distinguishing badge of a disciple of Christ; and since, in the language of the apostle John, (1 John iv. 20.) "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar," this appellation suits him better, whilst, under the profession of being a representative of the Lamb of God, he is spreading desolation and destruction among men.

Again the apostle saith, (2 Tim. ii. 24, 28) "The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the Truth." And the weapons of the welfare of the primitive Christians were not carnal: but the weapons and methods the pope usually had recourse to for the overcoming of those who opposed him were carnal, and the reverse of gentleness, patience, and meekness; for whereas it is notorious, that especially from the year 1160, to the year 1170, divers were by God's good Providence raised up to bear a publick testimony against the many gross corruptions that had crept into the church, these were sure to do this with the hazard of their lives and liberties, among whom were the followers of Wickliff, called Lollards in England, and the Waldenses in France, many of whom were burned to death, and others scattered into divers countries by persecution; and a few years after those rose the Albigenses in the city of Tholouse, against whom the pope incensed sent Dominic, with several missionaries called inquisitors, into the county

of Thoulouse, and employed armies against them, and destroyed above two hundred thousand in the space of some months.*

In the massacre of Paris, A. D. 1572, the number destroyed is computed at one hundred thousand, the news whereof, as Thuanus tells us, they received at Rome with transports of pleasure, and the pope and cardinals instantly repaired to St. Mark's to thank God for so great a favour conferred on the see of Rome, and appointed a Jubilee over the whole Christian world for this slaughter of those called Hereticks in France.

In the Irish massacre one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants, according to the most moderate computation, were murdered in cold blood.† Nor are there wanting later instances of the continuance of the same cruel disposition, particularly the persecution in France under Lewis XIV. the cruelties at Thorn in Poland, and on the poor Saltzburghers stripped of all they had and driven from their habitations, and still more recent examples might be produced to the same purpose.

In short, we are assured from good authority that far more blood hath been shed by the papal empire and its agents, than ever was shed by Rome heathen: and indeed perhaps it may with too much truth be observed, that when ecclesiastical men once become corrupt, they seem zealous to outstrip not only laymen, but even heathens and infidels, and to have exercised far more cruelty in inflicting their punishments than either of these; for, in some of the courts of inquisition (erected first in the kingdom of him called the Catholick king, about the year 1479) any one not convicted, but barely suspected of heresy, is by various tortures tempted to accuse himself (contrary to common law) and his goods are confiscated

* Sermons against Popery, A. D. 1735. † The Life of Oliver Cromwell.

(not after conviction, but) when they first apprehend him ; and whatever process is carried on against him no person knoweth, but only the holy fathers and the tormentors who are sworn to execute the torments. The accusation is secret, the crime is secret, and so is the witness ; and even the prisoner in his examination swears inviolably to keep secret the affairs of the inquisition, a method of procedure which the ancient heathens would undoubtedly have abhorred, as we may learn from the xxiv. xxv. and xxvi. chapters of the Acts. And although Christ Jesus expressly forbids his disciples to call for fire from heaven to consume such as would not receive him, yet his professed representative hath (by his agents) frequently called for and actually applied fire to the consuming the bodies of such as would not receive his impositions ; and with respect to the torments of the inquisition, it is observed that the final execution is not by common burning, but by a slow fire ; and moreover, if the supposed heretick has been dead, though many years, the process is carried on against him as if he were alive, and he is burnt in effigy with his bones, even as were the bones of that eminent reformer John Wickliff, after he had been dead forty-one years, taken out of the grave by a decree of the synod of Constance, and publickly burnt, and the ashes thrown into the river.*

And when John Hus, another reformer, was condemned to be burnt by the synod of Constance, seven bishops degraded him, and then a proper mitre was put on his head, &c. and the prelates delivered his body to be burnt, adding these words : ‘ And we devote thy soul to the devil in Hell.’ Such was the cruelty peculiar to ecclesiasticks, whereas when our temporal judges pronounce sentence against the worst

* See the History of the Inquisition at Goa, and the History of the English Martyrs.

malefactors, they pray, ‘ The Lord have mercy on thy soul.’*

These and the above mentioned may suffice as short specimens of the pope’s pride and cruelty. Let us next take a view of the temper of his mind with regard to earthly treasure, and see what title he has to the appellation of a representative of Christ on this account also.

Now we find by the history of the New Testament that Christ Jesus, who was greater than Moses, who promised to the obedient an increase of outward substance, as of corn and cattle, Deut. xxviii. (the sanctions of his laws being, for the most part, outward rewards and punishments) ever directed the desires of his disciples, not to the riches of this world, but to the spiritual ones, expressly enjoining them not to “ Lay up treasures on earth, where moth and rust do corrupt and thieves break through and steal, but in heaven.” (Mat. vi. 19. 20.) Nor do I find in the catalogue of blessings pronounced by our Lord on the Mount, or elsewhere in the New Testament, one blessing on rich men as such, but on those who were possessed of a heavenly disposition of mind: on the contrary, I find woes denounced on the rich and full, but blessings to the poor, in Luke vi. and consistently with this the apostle Paul, in his first epistle to Timothy, chap. vi. says, “ Having food and raiment let us be therewith content; but they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil, which while some coveted after they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows. But thou O Man of God, flee these things, and follow after righteousness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness.”

* Sermons against Popery, A. D. 1735.

Such was the sense of the apostle Paul concerning the disposition of mind that ought to prevail in a Christian bishop with regard to the riches of this world. Let us see how consistently with this the bishops of succeeding times have acted.

After the Christian religion became modish, the liberality, partly of certain piously disposed persons, and partly of some deluded ones, who vainly imagined that by donations of this sort they might purchase the remission of their sins, became great, and in process of time increased to an enormous degree, even so far as to corrupt the minds of the receivers; for with the acquisition of riches the desire of them also by and by increased, even as commonly happens to mere carnal men; and truly to a greater degree in those apostatizing Christians than in heathens.

Property and power entering into Christian (even as in other) societies, created parties and factions. To accept of the office of a bishop became, in process of time, no longer an instance of self-denial, nor a post of labour and vigilance as at first, but a desirable bait to sensual men; and whereas their professed Lord and Master testifieth of himself that though the foxes had holes, and the birds of the air nests, yet he had not where to lay his head, nothing less than stately palaces at length would satisfy these his professed representatives. In short, the gospel-motive of love to the souls of men, gave way to, and was supplanted by views merely carnal and human; Christ was followed for the loaves and fishes, preaching the gospel became a trade, and a very gainful one too.

A few instances shall suffice to shew what an advantageous trade the pope and his agents did follow, and how the spirit of avarice at length prevailed so far as to render the trade of priestcraft bare-faced, and that this was driven on to that extremity as at length

to threaten, in some sort, the ruin of those that were exercised therein.

The office of a bishop or other minister was originally such as required a constant and assiduous residence ; and indeed many severe canons and decrees of councils were made against pluralists and non-residents ; as likewise against the translations of bishops from one city or bishoprick to another. But what did these canons avail ? Truly they were but like spiders' webs, letting the great flies through, and catching the little ones, and so proved an effectual stratagem to bring money into the apostolical exchequer ; for by that one clause of the pope's dispensing power, the richer clergy were indulged in their non-residence, &c. whilst the poor vicars were bound by a constitution of Otho, to take a strict oath of continual residence, and without it their institution was declared to be null and void.*

The pope, in proces of time, engrossed to himself the collation of almost all the church preferments, and conferred the greatest part of the benefices in England on the cardinals and their relations, who enjoyed the profits without ever residing ; and these benefices were commonly farmed out to the English, who, to make the most of them, got the cure served for a very small salary. Hence divine service was neglected, the churches ran to ruin, and the instruction of Christians was almost wholly laid aside.† It appeared, however, upon a computation, made by order of king Henry III. A. D. 1245, that more money was carried out of England annually by the pope's authority, than all the revenues of the crown put together ; and without doubt all the riches of the nation had been conveyed away through this channel, and the ecclesiasticks soon become masters of all the

* Dr. Ayliff's *Parergon juris Canonici Anglicani*.

† Rapin's *History of England*.

lands of the kingdom (seeing they daily acquired and never alienated), had not certain statutes, particularly that of Mortmain, enacted in the reign of king Edward I. to check the growth of the riches of the clergy, prevented it.*

But to conclude, about the year 1475, was erected the famous trade of pardons and indulgencies, i. e. a procurement of the remission of the pains of purgatory, which was sold for money like any other ware, in the time of Boniface IX.† And Thuanus says, that the pope sent his bulls throughout Christendom to raise money for his immense expences, promising the expiation of all sins, and eternal life at a set price and rate, according to the nature of the crimes; and he appointed a treasury and questors, and preachers, to set forth the value and efficacy of those indulgencies.

* The collectors under the authority of pope Leo X. about the year 1516, persuaded the people that who-soever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory, and preached, that if it were one jot less than ten shillings, it would profit them nothing.‡ Hence many were encouraged to sin, and the authority of the keys was much debased.

Behold the awakening imposition that made all men feel the bondage; and indeed this seems to have been the *ne plus ultra* of Romish corruption, or the very midnight of popish darkness, out of which, by God's good providence, emerged more resplendent beams of the glorious light of the reformation. For this kind of filthy merchandize, being, among other countries, propagated also in Germany, by the means of Tecellus, a Dominican friar, his scandalous sermons much moved Martin Luther the monk, who upon this

* Rapin's Hist. and Sermons against Popery.

† Polydore Virgil de rer. inventoribus.

‡ Fox's Acts and Monuments.

occasion published certain propositions concerning indulgencies,* which gave rise to a controversy, and from these small beginnings he proceeded with great zeal and constancy to detect many of the long established errors of popery.

That great corruptions did really prevail in the church about this time; that there was a strong necessity and even a loud call for a reformation, we may very safely affirm, since we have a remarkable testimony of Adrian the pope, then reigning, in his instructions published against Luther,† acknowledging it in these words:

‘ We confess that God suffereth this persecution to be inflicted on his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy, and the Scripture testifieth that the sins of the people do issue out from the sins of the priests. We know that in this holy see there have been many abominable things wrought and practised. And no marvel if the sickness beginning at the head have descended afterward to inferior prelates. Wherefore, &c. in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning with our own court, that like as the contagion first from thence descended into all the inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss from the same place, again shall take its beginning: whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole world so desirous of the same.’ So far Pope Adrian.

Now, that under the influence of such directors as those above described, novelties and corruptions of the primitive discipline and doctrine should creep in, we need not wonder; some instances whereof have been occasionally mentioned already, viz. their prohibition of marriage to the clergy, their excluding the laity from the assemblies for church discipline, and

* Fox’s Acts and Monuments.

† Ibid.

the setting up the authority of the church of Rome above all other churches : a few more examples to the like purpose now follow, viz.

I. The veneration paid by the Papists to their images (contrary to the practice of the primitive Christians within four hundred years after Christ, among whom no images were worshipped or used in their churches*) and to their saints ; to whom they erect temples and chapels, confess their sins, pray and give praises, thus robbing the one supreme God of his honour. Now this their worship of saints is a practice borrowed from the heathenish theology, and particularly from the worship of daemons among the Pagans ; and accordingly they have a variety of saints and saintesses to answer the gods and goddesses in the heathen world ; and as the several kingdoms of the earth were formerly supposed to be under the protection of different gods, in like manner are they now consigned over to the guardianship of several Roman saints, as St. Dennis for France, George for England, Andrew for Scotland, &c.

In some other instances they corrupted the simplicity of the gospel by the introduction of divers Jewish rites. Thus the use of holy water, or the water of purifying, was a Jewish rite mentioned in the Eighth chapter of Numbers, where God commands the water of purifying to be sprinkled on the Levites ; and hence Alexander I. bishop of Rome† is said to have been the author of consecrating such cleansing water, ordering it to be kept in temples and houses to drive away devils. Whether the bishop last mentioned, who presided in the beginning of the Second century, was really the introducer of this custom, I shall not take upon me to determine ; however, its origin is plainly Jewish, and the continu-

* Cave's Primitive Christianity.

† Polyd. Virg. de rer. inventorib. l. v. c. 8.

ance of it in the Christian church, a voluntary relapse from gospel-liberty into Jewish bondage.

II. The priests' vestments are derived from the Hebrews, as the last cited author shews in the mitre, surplice, girdle, &c. from Exodus xxviii. &c.

III. The payment of tithes is another Jewish rite, void of all support by precept or example in the New Testament, and which was not established until about the same æra as divers other popish corruptions. For as father Paul, in his *Treatise of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Revenues*, observes, the ‘Law of tithes was a divine Mosaical law, and as such, binding only to the Jewish people.—All right whatsoever of tithes is merely human; and about the year 1170, Alexander III. ordered proceedings by censures to enforce the payment of tithes, under pain of excommunication.’*

IV. Auricular confession does not appear to have been absolutely enjoined to be practised once a year, earlier than the 4th Lateran † council in 1215.

I shall subjoin but a few words of their corruptions of the Christian doctrines, and first, in their doctrine of purgatory, which is expressly contrary to the sense of the catholic church in the four first centuries; and is moreover acknowledged by an eminent popish author, and an opponent of Luther, to have been but lately received into the † universal church.

Secondly. The doctrine of transubstantiation is also another novelty, not broached until the Eighth century, and even about that time warmly opposed by the most learned men, particularly Johannes Scotus. In the year 1214, Pope Honorius III. commanded that the missal-bread should be lifted up above the priest’s head at a certain time, and that all the people should fall down and worship it; and

* Father Paul’s *Treatise of Ecclesiastical Revenues, &c.* chap. xxviii.

† *Sermons against popery.* A.D. 1735. † *Ibid.*

though the new-found device and term of Transubstantiation was hatched in the Lateran council, A. D. 1059, the doctrine of transubstantiation was not decreed or established by any general council but the council * of Trent, A. D. 1551.

To conclude; that divers of the novel order of Jesuits, of whom Ignatius Loyala the founder was not canonized until 1622, did corrupt the great doctrines of Christianity, and represent the Christian morality as far short of the purity of the heathenish, the reader may see in a treatise written by the Abbé de Berthier, published in Dublin, 1726, entitled the ‘Parallel of the Doctrine of the Pagans with the doctrine of the Jesuits, and that of the Constitution Unigenitus, issued by Pope Clement XI.’ Out of several instances therein mentioned of the nature of the doctrines of these fathers, it shall suffice here to transcribe one as a specimen of the rest, viz.

Father Rhodes, in his scholastic theology, says, ‘if any one commits adultery or murder, and at the same time considers the malignancy and heinous nature of these actions but in such a manner as is very imperfect and superficial, though the matter of it is very gross, yet his sin is venial.’ To which I shall subjoin one instance more of the Christian morality being represented even by the professed vicar of Christ Jesus himself, as far short of the heathenish, viz. ‘in a bull of Pope Clement VI. in the year 1351, a dispensation was granted to John, king of France, and to queen Joan, his second wife, giving to the king and queen’s confessor a power to absolve them both for the past and future from all engagements and contracts, though backed by an oath, if they could not keep them without some inconveniency.’ Thus is perjury authorized; whereas among the ancient Romans, it was an opinion generally received that

* Sermons against Popery, A. D. 1735.

rather than break one's oath, one ought to be ready to brave all that is dreadful in banishment, imprisonment and torment.*

Now surely it must have been in a time of deep sleep that those tares were sown, that these gross corruptions in doctrine and practice, these flat contradictions to the precepts laid down by the author of the Christian religion in the New Testament, were broached; and indeed the broachers of them seem to have been well aware of their being such, and therefore, consistently enough, ordered that book to be locked up from the use of the vulgar; and that ignorance was the mother of devotion became an established maxim among them; and (dismal to relate!) the prayers of the church were to be muttered in a language which most of those that were therein exercised did not understand; for even in queen Mary's time, in the year 1557, it was deemed a crime for any clergyman to perform divine † service in English: and indeed an universal ignorance, extending to human as well as divine things, did reign for divers centuries preceding the grand æra of the midnight of popish darkness above hinted at: v. g. king Alfred who died in 900, complained bitterly that from the Humber to the Thames there was not a priest that understood the liturgy in his mother tongue; and that from the Thames to the sea there was not a man that knew how to translate the easiest piece † of Latin.

And in the 15th century, the state of learning was very deplorable, viz. real learning was then scarce so much as heard of. School divinity and skill in the canon law were all the ecclesiasticks valued themselves upon, and it was the only road by which they could hope to arrive at church dignities. On the other

* Letter from a Librarian at Geneva, published in the London Magazine, 1751.

† Fox's Ecclesiastical History. † Rapin's History of England, Vol. I.

hand, the monks who had crept into most of the professorships in the universities had over-run divinity and philosophy with such a heap of jargon as served only to give their disciples false notions of learning,* and to teach them to wrangle.

But with the reformation in religion, a more solid and useful learning did also revive; and here it seems well worthy of notice, as a singular providence greatly favouring the progress and establishment of the reformation, that about the year 1450, the mystery of printing was first discovered; and is said to have been brought into England, A. D. 1471, in the reign of Henry VI; which, as Fox observes, proved a forcible engine to batter popery, and a means of spreading knowledge among the people, who had with great care been kept in ignorance by the prevailing power. But now, as the poet says, by means of this excellent invention,

‘ Learning revives, nor fears again t’ expire
 ‘ ’Midst papal ignorance and Gothic fire : ’

and ’tis humbly hoped that the same thing may justly now also be applicable to the reformed religion.

Thus have I, for the sake of those who may have been less conversant in these matters, given a brief portraiture of the apostacy of the professors of Christianity, those especially who affected the title of vicars and representatives of Christ Jesus; of whom as it is supposed to have been prophesied that his visage was more marred than any man’s, these men have taken care that this should be amply fulfilled in the representation they have given of Christ and his religion to the world: a religion, although calculated to promote the temporal as well as eternal

* Rapin’s History of England, Vol. VI.

happiness of mankind, yet, if one were to frame his idea of it from their conduct as above described, would appear to be no better than a stratagem to enrich and aggrandize a few men, called ecclesiasticks, at the cost of impoverishing and enslaving the rest ; from whence I cease to wonder at the contempt with which the profession of Christianity, without the power and spirit of it, hath been sometimes treated.

PART. II.

Of the Reformation, and its gradual progress, and the defects yet attending it.

OF the woful darkness above described, which did for some ages eclipse the brightness of the gospel-day, it hath seemed good to Divine Providence to forewarn us in the Revelation, where the church is supposed to be represented by the “woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars,” and being with child, and persecuted by the dragon “whose tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth; and he stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born; but the child being brought forth, and caught up to God and his throne, she fled into the wilderness,” (a state of obscurity) and was to remain there during the time appointed her of God: which was but a limited time, and is believed to have been accomplished, and that the return of the church out of the wilderness commenced at the reformation, and that this great work shall be carried on and perfected in God’s time.

It must indeed be acknowledged, to the glory of God’s good providence, that even in the most dark and corrupt ages there was still preserved a faithful remnant, who bore witness against the prevailing corruptions, though the greater part of these were branded for hereticks by the ruling majority, whereof it is necessary to subjoin a few instances.

A. D. 815, Claudio, bishop of Turin, is stigmatized for an arch heretick for teaching that the cross

is not to be worshipped, nor the sepulchres nor reliques of saints, and that pilgrimages are vain: and for the like reason were Petrus de Bruis and Henricus ex Monacho, A. D. 1119, branded for hereticks.*

In the year 1146 lived Hildegardis, a prophetess, and indeed so esteemed by the papists themselves, who among other things † prophesieth against the priests and prelates of the Romish church thus:—

‘ Now is the law neglected among the spiritual people, which neglect to teach and do good things; the master likewise and the prelate do sleep, despising justice, and laying it aside: and in a certain vision the church appeared to her in the shape of a woman complaining that the priests had bewrayed her face with dust, rent her coat, &c. and that they did not shine over the people, neither in doctrine, nor example of life—that all ecclesiastical order did every day become worse and worse, and that the priests did not teach, but destroy the law of God: and for these horrible crimes she threateneth and prophesieth unto them God’s most heavy wrath and displeasure, and doleful punishments. The crown of apostolical honour shall be divided, because there shall be found no religion among the apostolical order; and for that cause shall they despise the dignity of that name, and shall set over them other men and other archbishops, in so much that the apostolic see of that time shall have scarce Rome and a few other countries thereabouts under his crown. And these things shall partly come to pass by incursion of wars, and partly also by a common counsel and consent of the secular and spiritual persons. Then shall justice flourish, so that in those days men shall honestly apply themselves to the ancient customs and discipline of ancient men, and shall observe them as ancient men did.’†

* Synops Concilior. Paris 1671.

† Fox’s Eccl. History, Vol. I. p. 237, 238. † Ibid, Vol. I. p. 238.

A. D. 1160, one Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, applying himself to the study of the Scriptures, and finding there no grounds for several of the popish doctrines, and particularly transubstantiation, publickly opposed them. His followers, called Waldenses, were grievously persecuted by the reigning power, some of them burnt to death, and others scattered into divers countries ; and indeed they did overspread a great part of * Europe, by which means (to the glory of God's Providence bringing good out of evil) the reformation was also spread.

Among others of their tenets were the following : ‘ That the church of Rome is Babylon spoken of in the Revelation : that praying for the dead is vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of priests : that the host is an idol : that the feasts and festivals of the saints ought to be rejected : that preaching of the word is free to all men called † thereunto.’

And indeed in that dark interval of time, between the year 1170 and 1470, many bore a publick testimony against the corruption and abominable idolatry which was crept into the church ; though commonly with the loss of their liberties or lives ; for a further account of whom I refer to the last-cited author ; and it is observable, to the glory of the power and providence of God, now as formerly, “ choosing the weak things to confound the things that are mighty ;” and that though there were some learned men among these, many of them were mean persons, mechanics, and several women, (who suffered for their testimony to the Truth) : not for the most part the men of the establishment, the mercenary priests and bishops, who were commonly their persecutors, and hindered, as much as in them lay, the progress of the reformation.

In the year 1370, lived Bridget, dignified by the

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. III.

† Fox's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I.

name of Holy, the church of Rome having canonized her not only for a saint, but prophetess, who, notwithstanding, in her book of revelations, was a great rebuker of the pope and of the filth of his clergy, calling him a murderer of souls, a spiller and piller of the flock of Christ, affirming that the prelates, bishops, and priests, are the cause why the doctrine of Christ is neglected and almost extinct ; that the clergy have turned the Ten Commandments of God into two words, *Da Pecuniam*, or Give money ; and prophesieth that the see of the pope shall be thrown down into the deep like a millstone.*

But it were an inexcusable neglect, in a discourse of this kind, to suppress one fact redounding to the singular honour of the English nation, or rather a notable instance of God's goodness worthy of the most grateful commemoration from the people of these nations, viz. that England was one of the first that was favoured with the dawn of the glorious light of the reformation, even long before the days of Martin Luther, viz. by the means of John Wickliff, who has been called the morning-star of the reformation, and was born about the year 1324, was Divinity Professor in Oxford, and afterwards parson of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. He flourished in the latter end of king Edward III. and the beginning of king Richard II^d's time, about 130 years before the reformation of Luther.†

He published certain conclusions against transubstantiation and the infallibility of the pope, and that the church of Rome was not the head of all other churches. That the New Testament is a perfect rule of life and manners, and ought to be read by the people. He also declared against the establishment of tithes, asserting them to be pure alms, and main-

* Fox's Ecclesiastical History.

† Neal's History of the Puritans.

tained that to restrain men to a prescribed form of prayer, is contrary to the liberty granted them by God.*

For these and other pretended heresies his books were, by the pope and his cardinals, condemned to the flames, and his bones were taken out of the grave and burnt forty-one years after his death, by a decree of the synod of Constance, as is before observed.

His followers, otherwise called Lollards, in the year 1389, began to separate from the church of Rome, and to appoint priests from among themselves to perform divine service in their own way; and it is observable, that the church of England, though she embraces Wickliff's doctrines with regard to articles of faith, cannot however forbear expressing very little esteem for that doctor, because he has combated the hierarchy which she has thought fit † to retain.

That we may judge how necessary, and at the same time how great and difficult, that work of reformation was, which he was instrumental, through God's good providence, to promote, it seems worth our while to look back and consider what the state of the church was in those days, which is thus described by Fox in his Ecclesiastical History.

'The Scriptures, learning, and divinity, were known but to few, and that in the schools only, and there also converted almost all into sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinus and Scotus, and the master of sentences. The world leaving and forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, wherein the whole scope in a manner of all Christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all hope of obtaining salvation fixed: here-

* Neal's History of the Puritans.

† Rapin's History of England.

unto all things were attributed. Instead of the apostolic gifts, and continual labours and travels, slothfulness and ambition was crept in among the priests.'

' Thus, in these times of horrible darkness and ignorance, what time there seemed in a manner no one spark of pure doctrine left remaining, did the aforesaid John Wickliff, by God's providence, rise up, through whom the Lord would first weaken and raise up the world overwhelmed with human traditions.'

Walter Brute was another of the first reformers mentioned by the same author, who appeared also in king Richard II^d's time, among other truths contending for this, that tithes are not due by the law of Moses, nor by the law of Christ, but by the tradition of men only : he also reasoned strongly upon Christian principles against fighting and swearing.

A. D. 1410, the doctrines of the gospel began to be spread in Bohemia, by means of the books of Wickliff (which happened through the intercourse between England and Bohemia, upon occasion of king Richard II. marrying queen Ann, who was a Bohemian) which then coming into the hands of John Hus (a learned man and preacher at that time in the university of Prague), and others both men and women, especially of the lay-sort and artificers, were a means of awakening them : and Jerom, of Prague, Master of Arts, was the companion of the said Hus, and his fellow in bonds, and both underwent the same tragedy, viz. were burnt to death, and their ashes thrown into the river.

About the year 1517 and 1521, Luther, in Germany, and Zwinglius, in Switzerland, wrote against the Pope's indulgencies and pardons, and from thence proceeded gradually to detect many other of the errors of popery, as is above observed ; and the reformation made a considerable progress in those countries by the preaching and writings of the said

Luther, Zuinglius, Melancton, Oecolampadius and others, some of whose books which had been published in those parts, being translated into English, excited the curiosity of the people to look into the state of religion at home.

At a time not far distant from this, ‘ William Tindal, brought up in the university of Oxford, where he increased as well in the knowledge of the tongues and liberal arts as (and more especially) in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted, considering the great mischief done to the church, by keeping the Scriptures of God hid from the people’s eyes, was therefore moved to translate the Scripture into his mother-tongue, for the publick utility of the simple vulgar people of the country, and accordingly did translate the New Testament about the year of our Lord 1527 or 1529. But, did the clergy and prelates encourage the publication of it? No such matter; they cried out strenuously against it, representing that there were a thousand heresies in it; that it was not fit to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said, that it was not possible to translate the Scripture into English; some that it was not lawful for lay-people to have it in their mother-tongue; some that it would make them all hereticks; and to the intent to induce the temporal rulers also to their purpose, they said it would make the people to rebel and rise against their king. Such were the forward devices of the English clergy to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which they would neither translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated by others: to the intent (as Tindal himself saith) that, the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their lusts, their ambition, and unsatiable covetousness. In fine, the clergy never rested until they had procured by proclamation the

prohibiting the said translation of the New Testament of Tindal, and not contented herewith, proceeded further to entangle him in their nets and bereave him of his life, which at length they effected.*

However, this translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue did at length prevail over opposition; whereby the doctrines of the New Testament were spread among the people, whose curiosity was also hereby greatly raised; and although the bishops bought up and burnt all the books of this sort they could meet with, the testament was printed abroad, and sent over to merchants in London, who dispersed the copies privately among their friends and acquaintance: and at length Tindal's bible, reviewed and corrected by Cranmer, was allowed by authority, and in the year 1538, by king Henry VIIIth's injunctions, was set up in all the churches in England, that the people might read it.†

Such light was by this means diffused among the people, as soon detected many of the abominable corruptions of the Christian doctrine, which had crept in, in the times of darkness and ignorance; particularly purgatory, the power of indulgencies, transubstantiation, the worship of saints, and veneration of images, the supreme authority of the church and bishop of Rome, &c. which, like birds of the night, disappeared on the dawn of this glorious day: and indeed the first reformers deserve to be acknowledged as excellent instruments, raised up by God's good providence, to begin the purging and building of his house, and worthy to be had of us and posterity in everlasting remembrance: but, without in the least detracting from the honour due to those Christian heroes, it must be acknowledged that the great work of a complete reformation and restoration of the primitive purity and simplicity was not the work of one

* Fox's Ecclesiastical History. † Neal's History of the Puritans.

day, year, or age; and indeed as the apostacy itself did not arrive at that tremendous height to which I have traced it, so neither is the return from thence to be effected, all at once; but notwithstanding divers considerable advances have been made at different times, and in different countries in this great work, and some establishments been formed, yet that some of the dregs of popish corruption have been, and still are, retained, we acknowledge and deplore, with many sincere protestants of other communities, the removal of which is earnestly to be desired.

To this purpose I think it worth while here to recite some part of the memorable speech of John Robinson, an Independent minister, on his taking leave of his congregation, mentioned in Neal's History of the Puritans, in the time of king James I. A. D. 1620, viz. 'Follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus. If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily assured that the Lord has yet more truth to break forth out of his holy word. For my part I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches who are come to a period in religion, and will at present go no farther than the Instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go farther than what Luther saw: and the Calvinists stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God. It is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.'

I proceed therefore to the ungrateful task of specifying several instances of the imperfection of the

reformation, and to shew the true grounds of the separation of this people from the established church of this nation, with respect to some of the most important particulars wherein they differ from it; whether they be such as are common to them and other protestant dissenters, or such as are peculiar to themselves.

That too much of the pride and covetousness, and some degree of the tyranny, of antichrist is still retained, among the men called the clergy of the establishment, will be too manifest if we consider,

I. That they also appropriate unto themselves both the name and jurisdiction of the church, excluding those they call Laicks both from the title and the power annexed to it; hereby depriving them of their original rights as Christian brethren, according to the primitive example, as is before shewn; and that the entire separation of laymen from the ecclesiastical assemblies was the genuine effect of the growing pride of the clergy, and did not take place until Pope Innocent IIId's time.

II. What, but the remains of the pride of antichrist hath induced those called Lords-Archbishops and Lords-Bishops to assume a lordship over God's heritage, and to become too little apt to teach, contrary to the primitive injunction to bishops?

III. Persecution is another of the vile reliques of the pride and cruelty of antichrist; and to say the truth, too much of the principles and spirit of persecution came over with the reformers themselves; and almost all parties and denominations in their turn have had a notion of serving God by doing mischief to men, men who could not believe as they pleased, or would not lie in professing to believe what they did not.

Thus, though the church of England be justly esteemed at present for her moderation, having long since ceased to punish dissenters, as formerly, with

imprisonment, and the loss of estate or life; yet as long as Athanasius's creed, together with the sentence of everlasting perdition thereunto annexed, is retained, and a subscription of certain articles of faith is imposed in their universities, on all their members, on pain of their entire exclusion from thence, methinks it can hardly be denied that something of that same tyrannical spirit (which as is before shewn, arrogated to itself the supreme direction of universities) is still retained also in this instance: and indeed every imposition of creeds, common prayers, and liturgies, scarce possible to be so framed as every one can honestly subscribe them, seems to have taken its rise from the same origin; and the multiplication of creeds has ever been attended with the pernicious consequence of scattering and dividing Christians, although proposed as a means to unite them.

I find that the very same spirit prevailed likewise both in the Kirk of Scotland, and the Presbyterians in England; for in the year 1645, the Scots published a declaration against the toleration of sectaries, and liberty of conscience, in which they even say, that liberty of conscience is the nourisher of all heresies and schisms; and the Presbyterians, during the anarchy, frequently addressed for the suppression of all sectaries by the civil authority, and declared against toleration and liberty of conscience, both from the pulpit and press. They pressed covenant-uniformity, yea and uniformity in matters of belief, on pain of imprisonment and death itself, as appears by their ordinance against what they are pleased to call blasphemy and heresy.*

IV. I proceed next to consider the covetousness of those who call themselves the clergy of the reformed church.

What a trade the pope and his dependents exer-

* Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 497, 498, 499, 500.

cised with the gospel ; how gainful to themselves, and oppressive to the people, has been amply shewn above. It were greatly to be wished, that it could be affirmed, truly, that nothing of the same spirit possessed the hearts of the reformers : but the truth is, that the present support of their ministry is worldly, and their call, though professedly from a motion of the Holy Spirit, is truly like a merely human one, undertaken not only for the support, but aggrandizement of families, contrary to the tenor of the precepts of the gospel. Their maintenance by tithes is no other than a Jewish rite, a popish innovation which took place in the midnight of apostacy and degeneracy, as has been before observed ; when a corrupt ministry, becoming strangers to the love of God and their brethren, lost also confidence in both, and so deemed it necessary to have secured to themselves by law what wanted authority in the gospel, and by force to extort a maintenance formerly yielded by free will : nor indeed can we say better of some of the pretended reformers in the anarchy ; for although the Independents and Anabaptists concurred in desiring the abolition of tithes as being of Judaical institution, which was also one of those national grievances the army proposed to redress, yet the reigning party were not willing to part with an establishment so grateful to flesh and blood ; for the parliament in the year 1644, published an ordinance enjoining the payment of tithes.

A few more particular instances of covetousness too flagrant, and such as are both highly reprehensible to a Christian ministry and hurtful to mankind, will but too clearly evince what I proposed, viz.

I. What is the dispensing with the publication of the bans of matrimony in the congregation, by a bishop's licence, for a certain sum of money, but a corruption of Christian discipline for the sake of filthy lucre ? and truly of the same spirit and origin as the

dispensing power of the Pope, or the redeeming of penance with money ; a corruption so much the more worthy of being taken notice of, as by this means the rights of parents are daily invaded, many an unthinking couple are precipitated into ruin, and the peace and religious oeconomy of families is destroyed through this truly licentious method of marriage, and which by a strict and wholesome discipline, might, in many cases, be prevented.

II. What shall we think of their pluralities of benefices, and their non-residence, but as reproachful instances of the same spirit of covetousness still subsisting, and an express breach of the solemn promise made by every priest at his ordination ? ‘that besides administering the doctrine and sacraments and discipline of Christ, he will be ready to use public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the whole as the sick within his cure, as need shall be given, and as occasion shall require?’

I have above shewn, that these non-residences and pluralities, as likewise the translation of bishops from one city or bishoprick to another, are severely prohibited by divers canons and decrees of councils received even among the papists ; and that the dispensing with them is, in its original, a genuine fetch of popish policy to get money ; from which it is greatly to be wished that the churches professing reformation were entirely delivered.

As I look upon this affair, how much soever countenanced or neglected at present, to be of great moment, I think it worth my while to transcribe here (from Fox’s acts and Monuments) the sense of a king of England on this matter, viz. Henry III. who on this occasion wrote to one of his bishops in the following terms, viz.

• The King to the Bishop of Hereford sendeth greeting.

• Pastors or shepherds are set over their flocks that by exercising themselves in watching over them day and night, they may know their own cattle by their look, bring the hunger-starved sheep into the meadows of fruitfulness, and the straying ones into one fold, by the word of salvation and the rod of correction, and to do their endeavour that unity indissoluble may be kept.

• But some there be, who damnably despising this doctrine, and not knowing to discern their own cattle from another's, do take away the milk and the wool, not caring how the Lord's flock may be nourished : they catch up the temporal goods, and who perisheth in their parish with famishment, or miscarrieth in manners they regard not : which men deserve not to be called pastors, but rather hirelings.

• And that we even in these days, removing ourselves into the marches of Wales, to take order for the disposing of the garrisons of our realm, have found this default in your church of Hereford, we report it with grief ; for that we have found there a church destitute of a pastor's comfort, as having neither bishop nor official, vicar nor dean, that may exercise any spiritual function or duty in the same. But the church itself (which was wont in times past to flow in delight, and had canons that tended upon days and nights service, and that ought to exercise the works of charity, they forsaking the church, and leading their lives in countries far hence) hath put off her stole or robe of pleasure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the loss of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and lovers that will comfort her. Verily, whilst we beheld this, and considered diligently. the prick of pity did move our bowels, and the sword of compassion did inwardly wound our

heart very sore, that we could no longer dissemble so great injury done to our mother the church, nor pass the same over uncorrected.

‘ Wherefore we command and strictly charge you, that all occasions set aside, you endeavour to remove yourself with all possible speed unto your said church, and there personally to execute the pastoral charge committed unto you in the same. Otherwise we will you to know for certainty, that if you have not a care to do this, we will wholly take into our own hands all the temporal goods and whatsoever else doth belong unto the barony of the same church; which for spiritual exercise therein it is certain our progenitors cut of a godly devótion have bestowed thereupon. And such goods and duties which we have commanded hitherto to be gathered, and safely kept and turned to the profit and commodity of the same church, the cause now ceasing, we will seize upon and suffer no longer that he shall reap temporal things, which feareth not unreverently to withdraw and keep back spiritual things, whereunto by office and duty he is bound, or that he shall receive any profits which refuseth to undergo and bear the burthen of the same.

‘ Witness the king at Hereford, the 1st of June, in the 48th year of our reign.’

So much for the pride and covetousness; I proceed next to consider whether or no some degree of the superstition and idolatry of Antichrist be not also retained among our professed reformers.

By superstition I mean a strenuous adherence to several of those things which were introduced in the time of Popish darkness and apostacy, without any authority from Scripture. And by their participating of idolatry, I understand their inordinate and unjustifiable veneration of mere outward signs, shadows, and representations.

Under the first head I rank the present observation

of saints days among those of the establishment, who though they have justly thrown out the great rabble of Romish saints and saintesses, yet still retain many without any authority from Scripture; the observation of which is still grossly perverted to the purposes of vice, idleness, and the impoverishment of families, to the no small scandal of the Christian profession, which surely it were now much better to lay aside, even as for this very reason was the celebration of the feasts appointed on the days of the deaths of the early martyrs, being perverted to excess and intemperance, in process of time, laid quite aside.* To the same head I refer their dedications of churches, and consecrations of grounds and houses.

II. Though they have in part thrown out the holy water, one Jewish rite, they have thought fit to retain another, viz. the clerical habits, which have been before shewn to be derived from the Jews, and were established in the times of popery, and yet are to this day insisted on as essential. What is this but an evident breach of gospel liberty, and a relapse into Jewish bondage, the New Testament being entirely silent about these things.

III. Though they have indeed most justly thrown down the popish altars as well as images; yet if we impartially consider the degree of veneration paid by them to those two outward signs and shadows commonly called the sacraments, it seems to fall very short of idolizing them.

That this may appear, I offer to their consideration,

I. That there have been raised more controversies and quarrels (yea sometimes excommunications and persecutions even to bloodshed), on account of these outside things, both betwixt Papists and Protestants, and among Protestants betwixt themselves, than matters essential to the salvation of the souls of men.

* Cave's Primitive Christianity.

Now, what are such vehement and inordinate contentions about such things, but the genuine products of carnal minds preferring forms, shadows, and circumstances, to the power, substance, and essence of things: to the destruction of charity, the badge of Christian discipleship?

II. The church of Rome indeed is accused of flagrant idolatry in falling down to worship a piece of bread; and the zeal and indignation of many of the first reformers on this occasion, is very remarkable, some of whom did snatch the host out of the priest's hands and destroy it, in order to shew by the evidence of sense the impotency of this their new-made god: a method of reasoning that seems to me very justifiable from what I find recorded with marks of God's approbation, in the conduct of king Hezekiah, in a case that seems to bear analogy to the present; viz. when the children of Israel burnt incense to the brazen serpent (though formerly erected by divine appointment), he broke it to pieces, and called it by way of contempt, Nehushtan, *i. e.* a piece of brass. But to return,

The common snare to catch the first reformers, was to ask them what they believed of the sacrament of the altar, and their usual answer, that it was an idol, speedily condemned them to the flames. Now as the Reformation had its beginning in their thus bearing testimony against the superstitious, inordinate, and extravagant regard paid to outward signs and shadows, so shall it receive its completion, when men, rejecting all vain confidence in these things, shall embrace the substance.

In the mean time it must be owned that many of the successors of the first reformers, have been so far deficient in this respect, or at least so far from an harmonious and consistent conduct on this occasion, as to have given too much grounds for the following sarcasm of an adversary, viz.

‘ The Papists have a better plea
 Than you, when they adore’t they say
 It is no longer bread and wine,
 But changed by the word divine
 Into the body of our Lord,
 And therefore ought to be ador’d.’

But of the church of England, he says thus :

‘ Kneeling when they communicate,
 Although it is but bread they eat.’

They do not indeed avow with the Papists that the bread and wine is a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and dead, and a means to deliver souls out of purgatory ; but yet, when besides the circumstance of kneeling, enjoined upon pain of a deprivation of divers civil as well as religious privileges, it is also made a *viaticum morientium*, or passport for dying sinners ; when (without authority from Scripture) it is dignified by the title of a principal seal of the covenant of grace ; and when we are told that the worthy receivers do really and indeed feed on Christ crucified, and receive of his fullness, and are hereby made partakers of all the benefits of Christ’s death to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace ; I pray, what mighty difference is there between these things and what the Popish manual pronounces concerning their venerable sacrament of the altar, viz. that herewith we are nourished, cleansed, sanctified, and our souls made partakers of all heavenly graces and spiritual benedictions ? Is not all this an abundant evidence of an inordinate and superstitious regard paid hereunto, and such as cannot be warranted by authority from Scripture ? Is not this (in the words of an eminent author*) plainly attributing that to a

* Plain Account of the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, published in London, 1735.

single ceremony, which, according to the constant tenor of the New Testament, is due only to an universal, faithful observation of the laws of God: and I add, to the great damage of the souls of men, who may be hereby betrayed into a dangerous and unwarrantable confidence in these outward things? And how much all this falls short of idolizing the outward and visible sign, I leave to the judicious.

Let us next see whether we can entirely acquit them of the same error with regard to water-baptism. I do indeed find that the church of Rome placeth infants dying unbaptized in the upper part of hell; and truly the baptism of infants seems to have been the genuine consequence of an opinion of its being absolutely necessary to salvation, whence their licensing of midwives to baptize children in some cases; and they affirm that it maketh them children of God, infuseth justifying grace, and all supernatural graces and virtues. Now though I dare not affirm of several Protestants, that they do literally proceed to all these lengths, yet when we find that when the child is required to answer, that by baptism it was made a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; when in the office for the burial of the dead, over all who have undergone this operation, whether saints or sinners, these words, are pronounced, ‘Forasmuch as it hath pleased God of his great mercy to take the soul of our dear brother here departed unto himself, we therefore, &c. in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life,’ &c. But on the contrary, if any have not been baptized, he shall not have the honour of this which is called Christian burial; in short, when unto the ceremony of baptism is peculiarly annexed regeneration, purgation from original sin, and a sure and certain hope of a happy resurrection, as it seems to be by the letter of the Common Prayer; it is obvious to remark, that what the judicious author above quoted has observed con-

cerning the Lord's supper, is also justly applicable to these accounts of baptism (in reality but very little short of the above mentioned accounts which the church of Rome hath been pleased to give of it), viz. that this also is plainly attributing that to one single ceremony, which the whole tenor of the New Testament attributes to universal holiness and obedience to God's commands, a more effectual seal and sign undoubtedly of a man's being a child of God, of his sins being remitted, and a far better ground for a hope of a happy resurrection; or in other terms, that one baptism whereof the New Testament frequently speaks, and particularly in Pet. iii. 21. "The baptism which now saaveth us is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." And Rom. vi. that baptism by which we "are buried with Christ into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we should walk in newness of life."

Such a baptism seems most suitable to the spirituality of the new covenant dispensation, even the substance, for ever to be magnified above all the "outward washings and carnal ordinances imposed until the time of reformation," Heb. ix. 10. and whereof these things are no more than a shadow or representation, although so strenuously cried up by the ministers of the letter; whilst all such as have not undergone these administrations from their hands have ordinarily been by them numbered among infidels; whereas the others do hereupon (if we believe them) instantly commence "children of God, regenerate and heirs of everlasting life." Now how far all these things fall short of idolizing the outward and visible sign, I must also leave.

I proceed in the next place, to consider the sentiments and practice of the men of the establishment,

with regard to the call and qualifications of a Christian ministry, and the exercise of spiritual gifts in the church: as another important instance of their falling greatly short of the primitive pattern.

It might indeed seem rash to affirm that the call and qualifications of the ministry of the establishment are merely human and worldly, seeing in the book of Common Prayer, an essential requisite to the constitution of a deacon is, that he declare that he believes he is inwardly moved of the Holy Ghost to take upon him that office; and that the bishop in the ordination of every priest says, ‘Receive the Holy Ghost,’ whence undoubtedly the first compilers of that book must have deemed such qualification essential to a Christian ministry; and indeed to suppose that they who give and receive holy orders at this day, do it not sincerely, were to suppose them gross prevaricators with God and man. I shall therefore suppose them to be sincere in what they do; but then shall beg leave to ask them, by what authority they have, to the utmost of their power, limited the free and universal grace and Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ to themselves, and to such only as shall be clothed with certain particular vestments, and have studied the liberal arts?

Such limitations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, such restraints on the liberty of prophesying, seem to be very remote from the spirit, temper, and practice of the holy men recorded in the Old and New Testament: for we read of Moses, (Numbers xi.) that he was so far from such a monopolizing disposition, that when news was brought to him that Eldad and Medad did prophesy in the camp, and he was desired to forbid them, he answered, “Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that all the Lord’s people were prophets, and that he would put his Spirit upon them:” and Moses himself was a keeper of sheep, as well as Jacob and David; Elisha, a ploughman;

Amos, a herdman; Peter and John, fishermen; Matthew, a toll-gatherer; Paul, a tent-maker; and Luke, a physician; and though looked upon as lay people by the priests of those ages, yet it pleased God, by the operation of his Spirit, not to be bounded by mortal man, to inspire and make of them prophets, apostles, and evangelists.

This indeed will be easily allowed with respect to those former ages, but is pitifully denied to later times; whereas according to my sense, it was the same Spirit that inspired our first reformers, even that wisdom which is described to be the “ Breath of the power of God, and a pure influence that floweth from the glory of the Almighty, which entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and prophets :” (Wisdom of Solomon, vii. 27.) or in other words, that eternal word of which we read in the First of John, which took flesh in the person of Jesus Christ, who afterwards promised to be with his disciples to the end of the world; which can be no otherwise than by the same Word or Spirit; and accordingly I make no difficulty in believing that it was this same spirit that actuated Waldo, the merchant of Lyons above mentioned, and his followers, those early reformers, and particularly (to return to our point) their teachers, though some of them were mechanicks, as weavers and coblers, which when it was offered as matter of reproach to them, they answered, that they were not ashamed of them because they laboured with their hands, according to the example of the apostles. Acts xx. 34.

Such a liberty of prophesying is also through the goodness of God revived and maintained in our days; and though less adapted to tickle the ears than such preachings as come recommended by the decorations of human art, yet herein also more conformable to the primitive pattern, as well as experienced more effectual to the edification of the hearers; (1 Cor. ii.

4, 5.) and indeed the purity and simplicity of the doctrines of the gospel (now through the blessing of God no longer concealed in foreign languages, but obvious and clear to an ordinary capacity) seem more likely to be preserved among men of clean hearts and moderate understandings, than among many of those whose learning, not being sanctified, hath tempted them to corrupt, under a pretence of refining it.

Another instance of gospel liberty revived, and agreeable to the primitive example, though forbidden in the national and most other churches, is that of prophesying (or speaking to edification, exhortation, and comfort) one by one, that all might learn, and all might be comforted. 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 31.

I know it will here be alledged, that prophesying or preaching as a gift of the Holy Ghost, is now ceased, together with other extraordinary operations thereof, as the gifts of healing and tongues. But to this I answer, That the gift of prophesying (i. e. in the sense of Paul the apostle, " Speaking to men to edification, exhortation, and comfort," 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 31.) is not less necessary now than in the early ages of the church, which cannot with truth be affirmed of the gifts of tongues and healing; tongues, by the testimony of the same apostle, " being for a sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not (which is applicable to the gift of healing); but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe." 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

And indeed, as I conceive, the only reason why the gift of prophesying in the above-mentioned apostolical sense, is not now more diffused among Christians, or why such is not now experienced to be the ordinary operation of the Holy Spirit, is carnality and spiritual idleness; the promise of Christ to his disciples, that he would be with them " always even to the end of the world" and that " where two or three

were gathered in his name, he would be in the midst of them," being not confined to the days of the apostles, but graciously experienced at this day to be fulfilled ; even that he is present with them who gather in his name ; not as an unactive, dormant principle, but powerful spirit, enlightening their understandings, warming their hearts, furnishing them with diversities of gifts, and giving to one the 'Word of wisdom ; to another faith ; to one a doctrine ; to another a revelation ; to another a psalm,' &c. 1 Cor. xii. and xiv. to the glory of God and edification of the church, which assuredly now as in the primitive times, edifieth itself in love ; Eph. iv. 16. that fruit of the Spirit, that greatest of all Christian graces, that love of Christ, which possessing the heart of Peter, the consequence was to be the feeding his sheep. John xxi. 16.

And indeed this love of God and the brethren (though supplanted by the love of this world in a human, carnal, and apostatized ministry, who have made a trade of the gospel, and followed Jesus for the loaves and fishes) is all the encouragement and support such a ministry wants : and as love begets love, whatever outward support may be needful, will be administered freely and voluntarily according to the primitive pattern ; Luke x. and though such a ministry may not enjoy great riches or revenues, yet as these are provocations to luxury, and many other evils, this will be no loss to them as spiritual men, but on the contrary, less temptation being administered, in respect to the cares and pleasures of this life, they will be enabled to apply themselves to the concerns of the other with less distraction, and shine as living examples of piety among the people ; whereas on the contrary great riches settled on the ministry have ever proved incentives to that pride, covetousness, and luxury, which has been their disgrace and ruin : agreeable to the observation of the difference of the ancient from the modern times in this respect, viz. that wooden

chalices were attended by golden priests, but golden chalices by wooden priests.

Having now shewn that prophesying or preaching in the Christian church, both was and is a gift of the Holy Spirit, I am led to consider more minutely the practice of that and other acts of devotion among the professed reformers, as falling short of the primitive precepts and example: and first as to preaching.

The apostle expressly testifieth "that his speech and preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power, that their faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God :" 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. and that the knowledge of the things spiritual whereof they spoke, was not attained unto by natural wisdom, but by the revelation of the spirit, and by the spiritual man only, is the plain tenor of the context.

But the modern preaching is with enticing words of man's wisdom; and the knowledge of the things whereof the moderns speak is acquired by study like any other science, and by the mere natural man.

Next, as to praying and singing, the same apostle saith, "I will pray with the spirit—and I will sing with the spirit"—1 Co. vix. 15. Eph. vi. 18. and Jude xx. and elsewhere praying in the spirit, and in the Holy Ghost is recommended; and the necessity of the assistance of the Spirit, as well as the impotence of man without it is expressed in these words, "the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered." Rom. viii. 26.

Now what is complained of in the exercise of preaching, praying, and singing, among many of the professed reformers, is their neglect of this assistance, and of that due preparation of heart which is necessary to the performance of these duties, so as to

render them acceptable to God or profitable to themselves.

We see no want of sermons, prayers, or songs, all made ready to be uttered at a certain hour appointed; but whether these be a mere lip-labour, or mechanical effusion of sounds; whether the preacher act the vain orator, preaching himself rather than Christ Jesus, whether he affect more to tickle the ears than mend the hearts of his hearers (who also love to have it so according to the prophecy, “heaping unto themselves teachers having itching ears”) 2 Tim. iv. 3. whether they either preach, pray, or sing, with the spirit, whether they really pray, or only say prayers, is very little considered.

It is, however, the want of this consideration that is the true reason of the unfruitfulness of the modern prayings and preachings, that too frequently appears both among Papists and Protestants; and that their assiduity in observing the set hours and seasons of prayer, &c. has little or no influence on their lives and conversations, but these remain for the most part as bad as ever. Men, finding it easier to sacrifice in their own wills than obey God’s will, have multiplied sacrifices without obedience.

Now that in this case it would be both more acceptable to God and more profitable to men to learn silence; yea, what is more, that in the view of heaven the sacrifices of such are no other than an officious and even criminal activity, we may learn from the following express declarations of God’s will in the holy records, viz. “Unto the wicked God faith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant into thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction and castest my words behind thee?” Psalm l. 16, 17. And again,

“Restore me unto the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free spirit: then will I teach

transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee." Psalm li. 12. 13. Again,

"Thou desirest not sacrifice, else I would give it; thou delightest not in burnt offering: the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Psalm li. 16. 17.

"The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, but the prayer of the upright is his delight." Prov. xv. 8.

"To what purpose is the multitudes of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord. When you come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Wash ye, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well." Isaiah i. 11, 12, 13. 16, 17.

To the same purpose is Isaiah lxvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. from all which it is evident, that for wicked men to rush into the exercises of preaching and praying without previously witnessing some degree of that power that changes and cleanses the heart, is so far from being acceptable to God that it is criminal in his sight; or in other terms that in this case silence is preferable to speaking; and that contrition of spirit and trembling at the word of the Lord is far more acceptable than the most pompous shews of devotion: and if the Jews when in captivity in Babylon could no longer "sing the song of the Lord, but chose to sit down and weep and hang their harps on the willows," Psalm cxxxvii. surely the analogy will hold, that the like disposition of mind is most suitable also to such whose souls are under the captivity of sin: and this is one case wherein silence is better than speaking: there is yet another, viz.

Men whom we call good, in this state of probation

and purgation, do sometimes, without consciousness of any crime, experience withdrawings of that power and spirit which at other times animates their souls: they are left barren and impotent, and it seems very consistent with Divine wisdom and goodness that it should be so, viz. in order that, being humbled under a sense of their own weakness, they might depend on and seek after God, a way of speaking (though much out of fashion among many modern Christians, yet very frequent in the holy writings.) In the 104th Psalm we have a beautiful description of God's power and providence over the animals even of an inferior order, of which if it be justly said in that address to Almighty God, "These all wait on thee that thou mayst give them their meat in due season: thou openest thine hand, and they are filled with good: thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created and thou renewest the face of the earth:" and on the other hand, "Thou hidest thy face and they are troubled," they must have a very contracted idea of the Divine providence and goodness who could suppose that it does not at least equally operate in the world of spirits and rational souls of men, as among those creatures of an inferior order: and the latter part of the text seems also not less applicable to the state of the souls of men in times of languor, impotence, and desertion, according to these sayings of the Psalmist, "Thou didst hide thy face and I was troubled: and O forsake me not utterly." Psalm xxx. 7. and cxix. 8.

Now it is expressly promised that "They who wait on the Lord shall renew their strength," Isaiah xl. 31. xli. 1, and in the following verse silence is enjoined for this purpose: and Psalm cxi. 10. it is said "Be still and know that I am God."

The amusements of sensible objects, the distracting cares of this life, and the activity of our own imaginations, are undoubtedly great impediments to the

operation of the Divine Spirit in our minds, and not unfrequently drown the voice of that eternal wisdom, of which the wise man speaks in the 8th of Proverbs, and pronounceth that man blessed who “ heareth it, watching daily at its gates, and waiting at the posts of its doors,” which surely he is most likely to do who is in a state of silence. Is it not therefore just matter of surprise, that waiting upon God in silence, in his worship, should be treated with such contempt as it hath even lately been among some professing great advancements in religion?

This brings me to mention a third case, wherein silence may sometimes be chosen preferably to speaking, which I shall express in the words of Barclay, in his 11th Proposition concerning worship, viz.

‘ The meeting may be good and refreshful, though from the sitting down to the rising up thereof, there hath not been a word as outwardly spoken ; and yet the life may have been known to abound in each particular, and an inward growing up therein and thereby, yea so as words might have been spoken acceptably and from the life : yet there being no absolute necessity laid upon any one so to do, all might have chosen rather silently and quietly to possess and enjoy the Lord in themselves ; which is very sweet and comfortable to the soul, that hath thus learned to be gathered from all its own thoughts and workings, to feel the Lord to bring forth both the will and the deed, which many can declare by a blessed experience ; though indeed it cannot but be hard for the natural man to receive and believe this doctrine ; and therefore it must be rather by a sensible experience, and by coming to make a proof of it, than by arguments, that such can be convinced of this thing ; seeing it is not enough to believe it, if they come not also to enjoy and possess it.’ So far Barclay, who moreover observes that this worship of God in silence, though very different from the divers established in-

vented worships among Christians, and such as may seem strange to many, yet hath it been testified of and practised by the most pious of all sorts in all ages, even among some of those that were otherwise overclouded with the darkness of popery, and particularly by the mystical writers, a sect generally esteemed by all, and so called from their professing and practising thereof, whose books are full of the explanation and commendation of this sort of worship, where they plentifully assert the inward introversion and abstraction of the mind, as they call it, from all images and thoughts, and the prayer of the will; yea they look upon this as the height of Christian * perfection.

To the above instance let me add an account of a certain people, called a sect prevailing very much among the Protestants of Germany and those of Switzerland, who call themselves Pietists, which has been left us by a very learned writer in his travels to Italy,† of whom though he be no admirer, nor indeed recommends their practice as an example worthy to be followed, yet as his naked narration of matter of fact seems well worthy of notice, and to be pertinent to my present purpose of shewing that not only the despised people called Quakers, but many others, of different ages and countries, have also both recommended and practised this worship of Almighty God in silence, I shall here subjoin it, viz.

‘ They pretend to great refinements, as to what regards the practice of Christianity, and to observe the following rules: to retire much from the conversation of the world: to sink themselves into an entire repose and tranquillity of mind. In this state of silence to attend the secret illapses and flowings in of the Holy Spirit, that may fill their minds with peace

* See Barclay’s Apology, Prop. II. Sect. 16.

† Addison

and consolation, joys, or raptures: to favour all his secret intimations, and give themselves up entirely to his conduct and direction, so as neither to speak, move or act, but as they find his impulse on their souls: to retrench themselves within the conveniences and necessities of life—to avoid as much as possible what the world calls innocent pleasures, lest they should have their affections tainted by any sensuality, and diverted from the love of him who is to be the only comfort, repose, and delight, of their whole beings.'

I shall conclude my recommendation of silent worship, by giving one particular example more of it, (in another country also) and of its good effects, viz.

The lady Guion in France, a great promoter of piety and virtue, and who was instrumental to the conversion of multitudes of the inferior sort of people, and some others in the southern parts of France, to a more religious and Christian-like way of living, and who in her writings taught and recommended, above all things, the knowledge of pure and divine love (whose doctrine the famous archbishop of Cambray defended, and was thereupon exiled); I say, this lady being permitted to instruct the young women of the house or college of St. Cyr, in the ways of piety, instead of repeating a number of prayers by rote, as they had been taught, put them upon silent prayer and inward recollection of mind and thought, by which they might see their own conditions, and what they stood in need of, in order to make them acceptable to God; and indeed, the good effects of this practice appeared in a signal manner, in setting them at liberty from the captivity of their darling lusts; for whereas some of these had been working the ruin of their families by their gaming, and the expensiveness of their apparel, these now having their hearts directed to the love of more amiable objects, were

brought off from the inordinate love of themselves and decking their bodies, and from affectations of new fashions and modes of dress, and from mispend-ing their time at cards, dice, and other diversions too common among persons of high rank and quality.*

So much may suffice concerning the worship of Almighty God: it seems next to be of no small im-portance, to consider the exercise of Christian discipline in the church, or rather the relaxation or los-s thereof, among the men of the establishment, as an-other essential defect in the reformation.

With respect to the celebration of marriage, I have already hinted how much the rights of parents are daily violated, and the peace and religious eco-nomy of families destroyed; and with regard to the morals of both clergy and laity, is there not an almost universal neglect? What discipline, for instance, is exercised in the church on fraudulent dealers, and bankrupts, drunkards, whoremongers, swearers, and litigious persons? Are not such often entertained in the body of the church without either expulsion or admonition?

But what need I dwell on this matter? The church of England in her liturgy expressly acknowledgeth this loss of Christian discipline, but contents herself with wishing for its restoration; and in the mean-time pronouncing the comminations, on the day called Ash-Wednesday, without a direct application to the offending individuals: which how well it quadrates with the apostolical precept in 1 Cor. v. on such occasions, as well as Christian zeal and prudence, I offer to their consideration; and hasten to the mention of two more instances of a deficiency in the refor-mation, and those are fighting and swearing among professed Christians, and which I am apt to think few will dispute with me, but that they shall cease when

* Apologetic Preface to Archbi^tishop of Cambray's Dissertation on pure Love.

the prophecy, that the “kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ,” Rev. xi. 15. shall become accomplished.

In the mean-time, ‘it will scarcely be denied that because of oaths the land mourns ; nor that* it is a shameful thing and very dishonourable to the Christian religion, that those, who pretend themselves to be the true followers of Christ, should so degenerate from his doctrine and example, as to want and use fearing asseverations (not known even to ancient Jews and heathens) to ascertain one another of their faith and truth, that religion must have suffered a great ebb, and Christianity a fearful eclipse, since those brighter ages of its profession ; for bishop Gauden in his treatise of oaths confesses that the ancient Christians were so strict and exact, that there was no need of an oath among them ; and surely, the prohibition of Christ in the 5th of Matthew, comprehends not only those called profane oaths, but others ; and when it is added, whatsoever is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, cometh of evil, this is applicable also to asseverations made before the magistrate ; for distrust and dissimulation are the grounds of going beyond a simple affirmation or negation in both cases.’ Noble therefore and consistent both with this and the spirit of the ancient Christians seems to have been the following testimony of the people called Quakers,* viz.

‘God hath taught us to speak truth as readily without an oath as with an oath, so that for us to swear were to take God’s holy name in vain.’

And that several of the ancient fathers did hold all taking of an oath unlawful, is acknowledged by Cave in his Primitive Christianity—Polycarp particularly refused to swear because he was a Christian : and we are assured, as a thing well known, that ‘the ancien-

* Treatise of Oaths published in behalf of the people called Quakers;
A. D. 1675.

fathers of the first three hundred years after Christ, understood the words of Christ to be a prohibition* of all sorts of oaths.' And one of the popes of the fifth or sixth century, is said to have been the first author of the institution of swearing by the gospel, so that the present establishment of oaths, among Christians, should seem to deserve a place among other innovations and corruptions of popery.

Next, as to fighting; there are two express prophecies, viz. of the same event, uttered in the same words by two different prophets, the completion of which we are surely to expect in these gospel times, viz.

" Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more :" Isa. ii. 4. and Micah iv. 3. Which prophesies the ancient fathers of the first three hundred years after Christ did affirm to be fulfilled in the Christians of their times who were most averse from war. Agreeable to this are the words of the Christians in Justin Martyr, viz. ' We fight not with our enemies,' and the answer of Martin to Julian the apostate related by Sulpicius Severus, ' I am a soldier of Christ, therefore I cannot fight,' which was three hundred years after Christ.† And as the true causes of wars and fightings according to the apostle, (James iv. 1.) are the lusts of men, an obvious consequence is, that when these shall be subdued and mortified, wars, their effect, shall cease.

It seems to be strongly hinted, even in the Old Testament, that there is something of a defiling nature in the spilling of human blood; for this is alleged under Divine sanction, as a reason why David was a person unfit to build the house of the Lord; for we read that the word of the Lord came to David, saying, " Thou shalt not build an house unto my name, be-

* Barclay's Apology, Prop. 15.

† Ibid.

cause thou hast shed much blood upon the earth in my sight." 1 Chron. xxii. 8.

The same sentiment, concerning spilling of blood, seems also to have been entertained even among the heathens; for whereas divers of the fathers held fighting unlawful to Christians, particularly Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Origen; the last of these in his answer to Celsus upon this subject, speaks thus, 'Your own priests and those who belong to your temples, keep their hands from being defiled with blood, by reason of the sacrifices they must offer, with unbloody and unpolluted hands, to those you esteem your gods; and when ye go to war, ye never take of the priestly order for soldiers.'

If then ye heathens saw thus far, surely we by the help of gospel-light should see farther: for my part I do not see how the method of determining controversies by fighting is reconcileable to reason; for surely the righteous cause is not always a necessary concomitant of the longest sword; and much less do I see how the reparation of injuries received is, by this method, reconcileable to the following sublime precepts, recommended to the practice of all Christians, viz. 'See that none render evil for evil to any man, and overcome evil with good, and love your enemies, bless them that curse you, &c. that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.' 1 Thess. v. 15. Rom. xii. 21. Mat. v. 44, 45.

From all which I conclude, that wars and fightings are an effect of the corruption of mankind, another strong instance of the deficiency of the reformation, and shall entirely cease among Christians, when they shall arrive at that standard of purity and perfection which is prescribed to them in the gospel.

I have now but one thing more to take notice of, before I conclude this my introduction to the History of the People called Quakers, and that is the disposition of the age at that juncture of time, when this

people made their first appearance in the world, as being one considerable co-operating means of making way for the reception of their doctrines.

‘The true church,’ in the words* of William Penn, having fled into the wilderness, did at length make many attempts to return, but the waters had yet been too high and her way blocked up, and the last age did make considerable advances to a reformation both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed, for in a little time wickedness flowed in as well among the reformers as those they reformed from, so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early to earthly policy and power to uphold and carry on their reformation that had begun by spiritual weapons, which seems to have been one of the greatest reasons why the reformation made no better progress, as to the life and soul of religion. For whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church such as one might reasonably say should be saved: for they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful and inoffensive under it, being more concerned to spread the Truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted those sufferings upon them.

‘Those before mentioned, owned the spirit, inspiration and revelation indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it in reading the Scriptures. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art that remained both in praying

* *Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers.*

and preaching, and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers.—They were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechizing of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public. But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple: and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party than for piety: which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select.

‘ They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themselves of such as could give some account of their conversion; at least, of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship, they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and punishment; by which the former party would have awed people into religion.

‘ They also allowed greater liberty to prophecy than those before them; for they admitted any member to speak or pray, as well as their pastor, whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate. If such found any thing pressing upon them to either duty, even without the distinction of clergy or laity, persons of any trade had their liberty, be it never so low and mechanical. But alas! even these people suffered great loss: for tasting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and ministry, and maintenance too; some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly

honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles : and, which was yet worse, turned, some of them, absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, that but so lately came themselves out of the furnace : which drove many a step farther, and that was into the water ; another baptism, as believing they were not scripturally baptized ; and hoping to find that presence and power of God in submitting to this watery ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

' These people made also profession of neglecting, if not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity but use of all human learning as to the ministry ; and all other qualifications to it, besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men. And for a time they seemed like John of old, a burning and a shining light to other societies.

' They were very diligent, plain, and serious ; strong in Scripture, and bold in profession ; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved their snare. For worldly power spoiled them too ; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more : and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the fire and Holy Ghost, which was his baptism, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part only) purge his floor, and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal, they grew high, rough, and self-righteous ; opposing further attainment : too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty ; insomuch that many left them and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a Shepherd, and as doves without their

mates ; seeking their beloved, but could not find him (as their souls desired to know him) whom their soul loved above their chiefest joy.

‘ These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of Love by others : because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally, to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do ; but waited together in silence, and as any thing rose, in any one of their minds, that they thought favoured of a Divine spring, they sometimes spoke. But, so it was, that some of them not keeping in humility and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure ; and for want of staying their minds, in an humble dependance upon him that opened their understandings, to see great things in his law, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those Divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God, and waited daily in the temple, not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel, the Jew inward, and circumcision in Spirit.’

Thus it appears that the fields were now ripe unto the harvest ; and as the same author proceeds, ‘ It was about that very time, as you may see in the annals of George Fox, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring from on high ; yea with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel,* to an effectual and

* i.e. George Fox, whose character is thus given us by William Penn and Thomas Ellwood, from an intimate acquaintance and conversation with him, viz. ‘ He was the first and chief elder in this age ; a man though not of elegant speech or learned after the way of this world, yet endued with a wonderful depth in Divine knowledge ; and although his expressions might seem uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound ; and as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences about Divine things would seem to fall from him, it is well known they

blessed purpose, can many thousands say, Glory be to the name of the Lord for ever.

‘ For as it reached the conscience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so that which people had been vainly seeking without, with much pains and cost, they by this ministry, found within, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz. the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, because in all, and God’s talent to all: a faithful and true witness, and just monitor in every bosom: the gift and grace of God to life and salvation, that appears to all, though few regard it.

were as texts to many fairer declarations: and indeed this shewed that God sent him, that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry, and that so many great and excellent truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had nothing of man’s wit or wisdom to recommend them; nor were these truths nominal or speculative, but sensible and practical, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up the kingdom of God in the hearts of men.

He was a discerner of other men’s spirits, and very much a master of his own: he had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures; but above all, he excelled in prayer: the inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fullness of his words have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation.

He was an incessant labourer both in doctrine and in discipline, the care of the churches being much upon him; and as he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people, being no more to be moved to fear than to wrath.

He suffered abundantly, not only from strangers, but from some of the same profession, and (which was not the least part of his honour) he was the common butt of the envy of all apostates, whose good notwithstanding he earnestly sought.

He held his place in the church of God with great meekness and a most engaging humility and moderation, being on all occasions (like his blessed Master,) a servant to all, exercising no authority but over evil, and that every where and in all, but with love, compassion, and long suffering.

He was found in judgment, able and ready in giving discreet in keeping, counsel: of an innocent life, no busy body, nor selfe-ker, not touchy nor critical; very tender and compassionate to all under affliction; a most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offence; very civil, beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us, and as he lived, so he died; and in his last moments was so full of assurance that he triumphed over death.*

* See Penn’s *Rise and Progress*, &c. and Ellwood’s *Testimony of George Fox* prefixed to his *Journal*.

This, the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and righteousness, and overcome with blind zeal and passion, either despised as a low and common thing, or opposed as a novelty, under many hard names, and opprobrious terms; denying in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestation of God's power and spirit in man, in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians: not unlike those Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God, at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas, he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.'

And as it was one great and principal distinguishing business of the people called Quakers (at a time of such high profession as that was, when they made their first appearance in the world) to call men off from an acquiescence in the mere history and letter of the Scripture, without experiencing the spirit and mystery thereof; or in other terms, to shake hypocritical professors, in their vain confidence in the mere belief of what Christ did without them in respect to his life, doctrines, miracles, and sufferings (matters of faith, undoubtedly of great importance, and necessary to be assented to, and most gratefully acknowledged, but without a further work so far from being effectual to salvation, that doubtless the revelation of these truths will aggravate the condemnation of the impenitent), and to awaken their attention to the inward appearance of the same Christ in their own hearts; to republish to the world faith in Christ, not only as sitting in power and great glory at the right hand of the Majesty in heaven, according to the testimony of holy writ, but also as the light of the world according to the same testimony, and that men "should believe in the light that they might be the children of the light," John xii. 36. according to the precept of Christ; and that there is a divine efficacy

in this light to make men sons of God, according to the first chapter of John the Evangelist: now I say, as this was the distinguishing testimony of the people called Quakers, so there are not wholly wanting among some of the writers of those times instances of a concurrence herewith. It shall suffice for this purpose to transcribe, a single instance, being a short extract from two sermons preached at Allhallows in Lombard-street in the year 1654, by John Webster, viz.

‘ It is not holding forth the highest profession of Christ, in the letter, that makes us free, except Christ come into the heart and make us free indeed. The chief thing that every soul is to mind, in reading and hearing, is to examine whether the same thing be wrought in them. Whatever we find in the letter, if it be not made good in us what are the words to us? We must see how Christ is crucified and buried in us, and how he is risen and raised from death in us; the chief thing I say is to look into our own breasts. All generally that hold forth a profession of Christ, they say in words, that Christ is the deliverer; but that is not the thing; is he a deliverer to thee? is that glorious Messiah promised and the deliverer with power, come into thy soul? hath he exalted himself there? hath he made bare his arm and been a glorious conqueror in thee? hath he taken to himself his great power to reign in thee? is he King of kings and Lord of lords in thee? Whatever thou talkest of Christ and his miracles, if thou hast no witness, no evidence of the truth of them in thine own heart, what is all that ever he did, and what is all that ever he suffered to thee? It may be thou mayest have a notion and opinion of the things of God, and thou hast them by history and by relation, or education, or example, or custom, or by tradition, or because most men have received them for truths: but if thou hast no evidence of his mighty miracles and God-like

power in thy own soul, how canst thou be a witness that they are the things that thou hast seen and heard? for all those outward things are but shadows and representations, figures and patterns of the heavenly things themselves. Thou mayest have a strong opinion, but no experience of them, viz. that Christ hath freed and delivered thy soul.—Hast thou really seen thyself in captivity, deaf, dumb, blind, and lame? Oh that men were but come to this condition, to be sensible of their misery! Oh then what mourning, what hanging of their harps upon the willows, and sitting by the rivers of Babylon, and crying out, how shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? Till they have deliverance they cannot but mourn, and who can deliver them, but the Lion of the tribe of Judah? To such a soul only Christ is precious: others may talk of him and make a great profession of him, but they cannot love him till he be Immanuel and Saviour in them. Forms and ordinances cannot be the rest of a Christian, because they may be used and lived in, and admired and prized, whilst those that use them may be carried away with divers lusts. Thus may not one be dipt and receive water-baptism and yet be a sorcerer? Was not Simon Magus so? May not one be at breaking of bread with Christ, and yet be a devil? Yes, for so was Judas.' So far Webster.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I. THE Reader is desired to excuse the diversity of style that occurs in different parts of this work; for which it is hoped the following reasons will sufficiently apologize 1st. The foregoing part of the History to the year 1700, having been compiled for the most part by the person mentioned in the title-page, it was deemed most expedient to publish it in his own words; and 2dly, in order that the genuine sense of the authors, of divers narrations and epistles, might be faithfully conveyed to posterity, their own words are also retained in their native simplicity.

II. Order of time, with respect to the accounts of the conviction and services of many eminent ministers and elders, hath not been always observed, because of the compiler's design to place these things together in one view, with the testimonies, or characters given of them at their decease, where this could be conveniently done.

III. It is but doing justice to many other worthy ministers and elders, of whom nothing in particular is related in the following History, to acknowledge that their memoirs are as honourable as those of whom particular accounts have been given, and their services oftentimes were as great, although partly through the great modesty of the persons concerned, and partly through the neglect of others, no record was preserved of them.

THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE CALLED
QUAKERS,
IN
IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

From the first appearance of this People in Ireland, to the settlement of church-discipline among them in the year 1669; wherein is given an account of the first ministering Friends who visited Ireland, and their labours in the gospel; (and particularly of William Edmundson); of the sufferings and hardships they underwent; the effects of their labours in the conviction of many; and the first settlement of particular meetings, and of provincial, monthly and national meetings.

It seemed good to a half year's meeting assembled in Dublin, in the Third month 1700, that a faithful narrative should be preserved and transmitted to future generations, of what great things the Lord had done for a people within the compass of forty-five years then past, and not out of the memory of some elders then living. Accordingly such a narrative was by their advice compiled, being collected from divers authentick papers and certificates, from whence the following account was drawn by Thomas Wight, of

Cork, a worthy elder, whose character is given in due course of time in the following history.

It is true, William Sewel did, in the year 1722, publish a general history of this people, who (in his own words) ‘began to take heed to a divine conviction in the conscience, and preached unto others the doctrine of an inward light wherewith Christ had enlightened man, and in the latter end of the time of king Charles I. began to increase in number, and became a separate society among men, distinguished by the scornful appellation of Quakers,’ for an account of whose particular doctrines the reader is referred to Barclay’s *Apology*.

The present undertaking may therefore perhaps be prejudged by some as superfluous: nevertheless, as divers occurrences have happened peculiar to Ireland, both before the year 1700 when the aforesaid Thomas Wight finished his account, and through a series of years to the present time, and such as seemed worthy of observation as matters of instruction and edification, the collections of Thomas Wight have been revised and improved by some important additions, particularly of several epistles, testimonies, or characters, of divers eminent ministers and elders, together with a minute and faithful account of their spiritual experiences, and of the various steps which the divine wisdom led them through, in their pursuit of everlasting happiness, taken from their own writings, and some other matters of fact, tending to give unto those of the present age a true idea of the spirit and disposition of their predecessors, and of the present spiritual situation of the society, with which view the history is continued down to the present time; and moreover, as neither Sewel nor any author I am acquainted with, hath, as yet, given such a minute and circumstantial account of the Christian discipline exercised among this people as either the subject, or its importance and usefulness seem to demand,

William Edmundson, born at Little Musgrave in Westmoreland, in the year 1627, having received Truth in the love of it, and obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, was made instrumental for gathering and convincing some (by declaring what God had done for his soul) before any other ministering friends came out of England in the message of the gospel, of whom as also of his own inward exercises, trials and sufferings, he kept an account in writing, which we shall therefore in the first place subjoin with his own words, viz.

‘ It pleased the Lord in my youthful days to bring me often to a consideration of my soul’s happiness, and when I was in the army in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell, matters relating to my salvation came more close upon me; for the Lord was visiting me, and striving with me both in judgments and mercies. In the year 1651, I came out of Scotland into England, and being in Derbyshire where the name of a people called Quakers was much talked of, and one George Fox to be the ring-leader of them; various reports went abroad concerning them, some for good, and many for evil; but my heart was drawn towards them for good.

‘ Now about this time I married and left the army, and was about to settle in Derbyshire: in the interim my brother John Edmundson being then a soldier in Ireland, came over into England to visit his relations, and persuaded me to go and live in Ireland: my wife being willing, we prepared for it, and taking with us one servant, some necessaries, and merchants’ goods, we landed in Dublin, where I was strongly importuned to settle; trading being then very brisk, and houses upon easy terms, it being not long after the plague; but I was prevented by a secret hand that I did not then know, which preserved me from the deceitfulness of riches; with which, if I had given way to this temptation, I had according to all probability.

been laden as with thick clay, and thereby been hindered from the Lord's service, as some others are.

' So from Dublin we went into the North, and took a house in Antrim, and my brother lived with us, for the troop he belonged to, quartered in and about that place: I soon sold off my goods and went for England to buy more; and going into the North, understanding George Fox and James Naylor (of whom I had heard) were come into those parts, I was glad of that opportunity, and went to a place where was James Naylor, who spoke of the things of God's kingdom, and work of regeneration; and though his words were not many, they were powerful, and reached God's witness in me, that had long strove with me, and my heart being then opened, as the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, I knew it to be the truth, and received it in the love of it; for I had longed after it, and was ready for the Lord's harvest. Things appeared so plain, and concurred with so many Scriptures, which were brought to my remembrance, that I thought all that heard it declared, must needs confess it was the very truth. In a very few days the Lord's prayer mightily seized on me, and hedged up my former way, and I was under great exercise of spirit on many accounts; so when I had done my business in England, I intended by God's permission again for Ireland, bound for Carrickfergus, or near it, and at sea the Lord's hand was heavy on me, and great wrestlings and conflicts of spirit I had; under which exercises I landed at Carrickfergus; it was something late in the afternoon, yet I rode twelve miles to Antrim, where my wife and ' aforesaid brother were. He meeting me at the door appeared with his usual salutation, but the Lord's power so seized on me that I could not join in it, and I was broken into many tears. We went in, and sat down, and I was mightily exercised under the sense of the Lord's power, which begat in me a true godly sorrow,

but mixed with comfort in his tender mercies. My wife and brother sat quiet, with no small admiration at the change; (this was in the year 1653.) Now I came to the entry of my goods which was no small exercise to get through, because at the custom-house an oath would be required, and when they required it of me, I told them I could not swear; for Christ had forbidden it. This was a strange thing to them, not having met with the like before; my deportment, and speech in using the words Thee and Thou to them, and not putting off my hat was very offensive; but the Lord strengthened me, and my mind was towards him, which enabled me to stand in the cross, and despise the shame, and so according to my small measure, I stood in my testimony for his truth, by which I got through that exercise, and received my goods and came home. By this time great discourses were about the Quakers; and I was yet under great exercise of spirit, the Lord's hand being mighty upon me in his judgments, yet, as I said before, mixed with his mercies, and my pain and trouble increased as a woman's in travail bringing forth her first-born; and in the night season I wished for morning, and when the morning came, my travail and hard labour ceased not, and then I wished for night again, that my bed might give me ease; thus was I like one tossed, and afflicted in this spiritual warfare, wherein I could find none that could speak a word of comfort, that had trod in this strait path. Many professors came to jangle and contend, and spake evil of the way to truth, which added trouble to my wounded heart, and broken spirit, but it wrought for good, for it raised discourses far and near what a people there was, and of their ways, manners, and behaviour; which settled so in the minds of sober people, that it put them upon an inquiry into the principles and faith of them.

‘Now was my name much talked of abroad, and

one Miles Bousfield called a major, who had received some convincement in England by George Fox, came soon away upon it into Ireland, and being about that part of the country I lived in, and hearing of me, and the great exercise of conscience I was in, came to see me, but it happened I was from home: he spoke much of religion, and the work of the inner man to my wife, and how glad he would be of my company, &c. When I came home, my wife informing me of him, and his discourse, I was very glad; for I would have gone far to find an experienced friend that could have informed or helped me in my great straits; for I saw my own poverty, and weakness, and the enemy as a strong man armed making war within and without: so I rode to see major Bousfield twelve miles, and abode with him all night. He talked much of the work of God in man; spoke well of the way of truth, and of George Fox, and James Naylor, and exhorted me to be cheerful and merry, and not to be cast down with those troubles, for it was the enemy's work to drive me into despair; for I had the tokens of God's love, and he would love me to the end, and nothing in me could hinder his work, &c. I gave attention to his words, being low, and dejected in my spirit; his words answered me in that which pleased self; for something in me would have enjoyed the Lord without bearing his righteous judgments, or living in the daily cross of Christ: and this I found major Bousfield was a stranger to, but made me easie over God's witness in my conscience, and healed my hurt too fast; for in a few days after I left him, it broke out again, the Lord's hand pursuing me, in whose light I saw and felt something yet in me that withheld the work of God, which must be slain and crucified by the Lord's judgments, and the daily cross of Christ Jesus. Then my wound was opened, and I saw there was no physician but the Lord alone, and I also saw where

Bousfield was, and all of that spirit ; that they took up their rest and satisfaction in a talk and notion of religion, without the true cross of Christ, that should mortify their lusts, wills, and vile affections, and crucify them to the world, and the world unto them, being at ease in a form of godliness without the real work of the power.' So far William Edmundson.

In the beginning of the year 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaster, and Miles Bateman, plain men, came out of England with a testimony for truth, on which account they had some service with the chief rulers and officers of the army : they made little stay, but went into the North, and took shipping at Belfast for England again.

At that time William Edmundson was removing his habitation from Antrim to Lurgan, and soon after his brother came and dwelt with him, and a meeting was kept at his house in Lurgan, which was the first settled meeting of the people called Quakers in Ireland. This meeting was but small at first, but as their minds were kept inward, waiting in stillness upon God, they felt his presence to comfort and strengthen them in time of great sorrow and weakness, and their number increased ; for the name of Friends and fame of truth did spread, and divers sober people that sought after the knowledge of God joined with them, as William Soulden and his wife, John Hendry, William Lynas, and several others : and the Lord was pleased to give William Edmundson a part in the word and testimony of his kingdom and gospel of salvation, which he laboured in according to his measure in much weakness and fear. He was moved to go to the publick worship-house belonging to Lurgan, to declare truth in the time of their worship, and was much beaten there by colonel Stewart ; but his testimony reached the hearts of some, particularly Mark Wright and Mark Sawyer,

who followed him out of the said worship-house, and joined with friends.

The next friend that came out of England was John Tiffin, who came and sat with the above-mentioned friends in their meeting, and did sometimes speak a few comfortable and edifying words among them: William Edmundson and he travelled together to several places, and had good service for truth, and discoursed and had disputes with professors, and many began to listen to them and inquire into their faith and principles, and truth began to spread, though through great opposition; for now the priests and people began to be alarmed and in a rage, and Friends were exposed to great sufferings upon several obvious accounts; particularly, as the testimony of truth was against all hireling teachers, and their forced maintenance, these made it their business to incense the magistrates and rulers against Friends as holding damnable doctrines, led away with the delusions of satan, &c. and their conscientious scrupling to swear, in obedience to Christ's command, Swear not at all, was a strange thing to the people, as was also the use of the plain and proper speech of Thou and Thee to a single person, and refusing to take off their hats, as being a testimony of honour and respect due to Almighty God only; and few could suffer these things,* but frequently on these accounts treated them with abusive words, and sometimes with blows or throwing stones. The keeping to one price in selling of goods and to the first demand without

* "These practices of theirs were not the result of humour, or of a framed design to declare or recommend schism or novelty, or to distinguish themselves as a party from others: but God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth, and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things." See Penn's Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers. And in a Treatise of the same author entitled No CROSS No CROWN, these matters are discussed at large, and particularly the true honour exaltantly distinguished from the vain and worldly.

abatement, was also a great stumbling-block to most, and made them decline dealing with them for some time, until they saw into the justice * thereof. But to return to John Tiffin.

He and William Edmundson went to Belfast (a town of great profession) where there was but one of all the inns and publick houses that would lodge them; here John Tiffin lodged, and often endeavoured to get an entrance for truth in that town, but they resisted, shutting their ears, doors and hearts against the publishers thereof. † Near this town there dwelt one Laythes, who promised to let them have a meeting at his house, but through some slavish fear failed of his promise and disappointed them; yet this did not hinder them, viz. John Tiffin, Wm. Edmundson, &c. from holding a meeting in the open air; for there being a little way from the said Laythes's house three lanes ends that met, they sat down and kept their meeting there, and were a wonder to the people who came about them; and something was spoken to direct their minds to God's Spirit in their own hearts. These exercises, though in much weakness and fear, spread the name and fame of truth, and occasioned many honest people to inquire after it, and some were added to the meeting at Lurgan. ‡ John Tiffin having spent five or six weeks with friends, returned for England.

Thus at the beginning, was the way strait and difficult, but yet truth gained ground and prevailed, and the number of friends increased, and they had a godly care over their words and actions, that they might give no occasion to the adversaries of truth, who were many; but as friends kept low in the fear of the Lord, they were preserved and God's witness in the people was reached; of which it may not be impertinent to mention one instance, viz. John Shaw

* Edmundson's Journal, Sect. 2.

† Ibid. Sect. 3.

‡ Ibid.

of Broad-Oak near Lisnagarvy, (who with his family were convinced about this time) often said that William Edmundson's words and deportment were a means to convince him of the truth.

The next friend that came out of England in the ministry was Richard Clayton, who came to William Edmundson's house, by the Lord's direction, as he said; so he and William Edmundson travelled together on foot in the Lord's service (for then it was not easy for travellers to ride, or get lodging at inns, the people being prejudiced against friends by the instigations of the priests, throwing stones and dirt at them as they passed along.) They went through several towns and villages to Coleraine, and there published the truth in their streets, and put a paper upon their worship-house door; for the inhabitants would not receive them, nor let them lodge in the town, but banished them out of it, so they lodged at a cabin in the mountains, and next day they went to Londonderry, where one Evans hospitably received and entertained them. They had two meetings there, and he and his wife and two sons and one daughter were convinced of the truth: the governor was at both meeings, and he and several others acknowledged the truth declared by them, shewing themselves kind and affectionate. From thence they travelled to Strabane and Newtown-Stewart, Omagh, Dungannon, and Charlemont, and to the house of Margery Atkinson (near Killmore, where William Edmundson had been once before), a widow and a worthy woman, who received the Truth with gladness, and lived and died in the Lord, and her memorial is blest. They had a meeting at her house upon the first day of the week, at which meeting Richard Clayton was very serviceable, and several tender people received the truth at that time in the love of it, as William Williamson the elder, a faithful, godly man, and his son William Williamson (a faithful, ser-

viceable man to his dying day) and their wives and families: also John Williamson, Matthew Horner and wife, and several others; and soon after, old William Brownlow, Francis Hobson, Lawrence Hobson and several others; and having settled a meeting there (which in time became large) they parted in the love of God, and soon after Richard Clayton went for England. Now the truth began more to spread, and its friends increased, and they had meetings in several places. Not long after this a meeting was settled at the Grange below Antrim, at the house of Gabriel Clark, an honest, religious, ancient man, who received truth, as also his wife and family. Another meeting was also held at Toberhead at the house of Archibald Scott, who also received truth (a religious, honest-hearted man), and people more and more were convinced, insomuch that the priests and professors still raged, many tender people leaving them; and to revenge themselves they cast William Edmundson into prison in Ardmagh, the county-gaol not being repaired after the war. He was put into a little room in the gaoler's house, where although he was weak in his own eyes, the Lord was his strength, and his power comforted him, and he was made a terror to the gaoler and his wife, although he said nothing.

This year James Lancaster and John Tiffin came over from England, in the ministry a second time. They landed in the North, and being at meeting on the green in Lurgan, near the market-place, many rude persons came thither, and beat the said two friends and William Edmundson very severely, and drove them to the town's end, thinking to drive them out of it, but the more sober sort of people rose up against them and prevented it.

In the beginning of this year also came over, and landed in Dublin, Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith, who having the testimony of truth to declare,

published the same both at the publick worship-house called St. Audeon's, and at a meeting of the Baptists. For the first they were committed by order of Richard Tigh, Lord mayor of the city, to Newgate prison, and the Baptists rejected the testimony of truth. After they were released from Newgate, they had a meeting at the chamber of Richard Fowkes, a taylor, near Polegate, which was the first meeting that can be remembered to have been kept in Dublin, and the first settled meeting was at George Latham's near Polegate. Their service was also great in the southern parts, particularly at Youghall, where divers were convinced by their ministry, viz. captain James Sicklemore, Robert Sandham, and several others; and the same two women were the first of the people called Quakers that came to the city of Cork, in the same year 1655; and with Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, who also arrived the same year, were instrumental to the conviction of many in the province of Munster, and particularly in Cork, viz. Elizabeth Erberry, Alexander Atkins, and Ann his wife, Thomas Mitchel, and Susanna his wife, Philip Dymond, Richard Pike, and Elizabeth his wife, Francis Rogers, William Rogers, Stephen Harris, and his wife, George Webber, George Gamble, Henry Fag-gater, Thomas Ridge, and others.

Not long after this several were convinced, as Elizabeth Gardner, a faithful, zealous woman who lived and died in the truth, Samuel Claridge, James Fade, and William Wadman.

The aforesaid Elizabeth Fletcher visited Ireland a second time about two years after,* and Francis Howgil recommended her by the following testimony addressed to the Friends of Ireland :

* As this record of the friends of Ireland may be relied on as authentic, the person called Elizabeth Fletcher, who in Sewel's History, p. 91, is said to have died soon after the abuse she received in the year 1654, must either have been another of the same name, or else it must have been a mistake that she died soon after that time.

‘ I am glad that my dear and well-beloved sister Elizabeth Fletcher (who is a helper and worker in the Lord’s vineyard) is moved to come to you again, who is found, honest, precious, and of good report in the family of God, who I know will be serviceable to the Lord and to you, in this his day wherein he is spreading his name through the nations.’

‘ Francis Howgil.’

The said Elizabeth Fletcher having declared Truth in the market-place at Youghall, after she had had a large and satisfactory meeting, James Wood, an independent teacher, opposed women’s preaching; but she, having spoken largely before, and particularly among other things, of the Lord’s pouring forth his spirit upon sons and daughters according to the prophet Joel, and recommended the people to the grace of God, was not forward to answer his cavils; but James Sicklemore and Edward Laundy took up the argument in her behalf, and in the conclusion truth prevailed over the opposition then raised against it.

About this time W. E. relates in his Journal that he had some drawings on his spirit to go for England and see George Fox, whom he had not yet seen; and accordingly went over, and met with him at Badgeley in Leicestershire, and that George Fox took notice of him, and they went into a retired place, where G. Fox kneeled down and prayed, and that the Lord’s heavenly power and presence was there: he told George of several being convinced in Ireland, and of the openness amongst people in the North of that nation to hear the truth declared, and of the want of ministering friends in the gospel there, who hereupon wrote the following epistle to friends of Ireland, and sent it by William Edmundson, viz.

‘ Friends,
‘ In that which convinced you, wait, that you may

have that removed you are convinced of ; and all my dear friends, dwell in the life, and love, and power, and wisdom of God, in unity one with another, and with God ; and the peace and wisdom of God fill all your hearts, that nothing may rule in you but the life, which stands in the Lord God.

G. F.'

And W. E. upon his return to Ireland read the foregoing epistle to friends in a meeting ; whereupon he further relates that the power of the Lord feized on them whereby they were mightily shaken and broken into tears.

The summer of the same year was memorable for the landing of Francis Howgil and Edward Burrough, two able eminent preachers of the gospel of peace : they had great service in Munster, several receiving their testimony and adhering to the doctrine they preached. It was therefore resolved that they should not be suffered to stay long in Ireland, but by an order from the government, at the instigation of the priests, they were taken prisoners in Cork, and sent by a guard from garrison to garrison to Dublin in order to be banished. They had no meeting in Dublin, yet had some service for the Lord with those that came to see them, being confined to the house of Mortimer, serjeant at arms, and after some time were in a violent manner haled a ship-board, and banished for England.

Some hints of their services are left us, which I shall here insert, and next an account of the first convincement of friends at Limerick.

And first of the service of the said Francis Howgil, at Bandon, where he was received by Edward Cook (a man of great parts, a cornet of horse in Oliver Cromwell's own troop, and receiver to the lord Cork), who also went with him on a First-day of the week to the public worship-house at Bandon, where the said Francis having declared truth amongst the

people, Edward Cook invited them to come to a meeting to be held at his house that evening; where there was a great concourse of people, to whom Francis preached the gospel, and opened the way of life and salvation; and many confessed to the truth of what he declared, and joined in society with friends, as Edward Cook and Lucretia his wife, Daniel Mafsey and Sarah his wife, Robert Mallins and Mary his wife, Katharine Smith, William Smith, Matthew Prin, William Driver, Joan Frank, Thomas Biß, &c.

Concerning the aforesaid Edward Cook the following testimony is left us: ‘he embraced the truth with his whole heart, and retained it; was given up to serve the Lord, and lived and walked under the cross of Christ Jesus, in great self-denial to the world and the glory and greatness of it, to his dying day, and laid down his head in peace with God, and sweet unity with true-hearted friends.’

On the Seventh day of the week Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, and with them James Sicklemore and Edward Cook, went to Limerick, and next morning to the publick place of worship, and after some time, attempting to speak, were run upon by the people, and next day put forth through the gates by an order; and as they rode along, Edward Burrough preached through the streets on horseback, and without the gates had an opportunity of speaking to a great multitude that followed; as also Francis Howgil, James Sicklemore, and Edward Cook spoke a few words; the tendency of which was to direct the people to Christ Jesus, a measure of whose light was given to every one to profit withal. These acceptable tidings of the gospel of peace took place with Thomas Phelps, Richard Pearce, John Love, &c.

Divers also were convinced the same year at Kinsale by the ministry of the aforesaid Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, and among the rest

Susannah Worth, wife of Edward Worth, afterwards bishop of Killaloe, who, though she suffered much from her husband, lived and died in unity with friends.

After some time, several other friends came to Limerick, as John Perrott, Robert Mallins, Humphrey Norton, William Shaw, Thomas Loe, and some women friends, as Barbara Blugdon, &c. Now those who had received some degree of conviction, being yet but tender and weak, went for some time to hear one Robert Wilkinson, a captain in the army, and withal a preacher, a man in great esteem, much given to religious disputation, and attended by a large auditory, who, according to the account given of him, appears to have been a man that had received some illuminations, but too much a stranger to that silent and humble waiting in the divine light, which would mortify the carnal will, that would busily but unprofitably intermeddle in spiritual matters. Him, however, these newly convinced went to hear, until one Abraham Newbold, by an impulse on his mind, came from Waterford and went also to that meeting where the said Robert Wilkinson was preaching, and stood up, and with a strong voice uttered these words, Serpent be silent; a few words, but powerful, which when Wilkinson heard, he would have entered into dispute and known by what spirit the said Newbold spake, to which Newbold only gave answer, Thou knowest not. Wilkinson attempted however to proceed in his preaching; but was so discomposed that he could not, but was carried out of the meeting, and on the next meeting day was so disordered that he was taken out of the meeting fainting, and from that time ceased preaching any more, and became foolish in the latter end of his days.

In process of time it came to pass that those convinced, being more enlightened in their understandings, met together in silence, and also became

concerned to bear a testimony to the truth against the world's fashions and manners; and their words, habits and deportment made them a reproach, and brought them into sufferings, as imprisonment, &c. Nay, the magistrates did publickly forbid the people to buy any thing of friends, and particularly of Richard Pearce, apothecary in Limerick; and this suspension continued on him several months, but he regained his business, and followed it with reputation the rest of his days. He was the first in Limerick that received friends into his house, where meetings were kept for many years, and was succeeded by his son Thomas Pearce, both in his outward and in his inward calling. But to return to Edward Burrough; besides divers places in Munster, he visited Kilkenny, where he laboured in the gospel, and several were convinced, and a meeting was settled there and kept up several years: but William Mitchel and his wife fell into some wild imaginations, and George Danson and his wife into quarrelling, and so the meeting came to be lost, yet one ancient woman, by name Esther Beaver, continued faithful to her dying day, who received friends that came to visit the said place, and meetings were many times kept there afterwards.

In order that my reader may form some idea of the spirit and character of the aforesaid Edward Burrough, I shall here insert the substance of two papers written by him, breathing forth the spirit of evangelical liberty, viz.

‘ To the judges and justices and all that handle the law.’

‘ Christ Jesus is the light of the world, by which every one of you is enlightened, which light if you love and be guided by, it will lead you out of the world's ways, nature, and unrighteousness, and will give you an entrance into everlasting life; and in this world it will teach you how to serve God in righteousness in your generation, and to give righteous judgments and

counsels among your brethren without respect of persons. None can rule for God but who are ruled by him, with his light that shines in the conscience, by which you being governed, will by it govern in the earth righteously. You are not to judge for gifts and rewards, for if you do, you judge not for God, but for yourselves, and you and your judgment is to be judged and condemned with the righteous law of God, which is free; but such who fear God and hate covetousness, and gifts and rewards, are to bear rule, and such will handle the law righteously, and be a terror to evil doers, and will stand for the praise of them that do well. But if such bear rule and handle the law which know not God, nor are ruled by him, these will abuse the law and be a terror to righteousness and good works, and will strengthen the hands of evil doers, and will let vice and wickedness escape unpunished.

' The law was added, to slay unrighteousness, against the disobedient and lawless; but it was not made for the righteous, whose consciences are exercised towards God and towards man by the pure law of God written in the heart. If you make a law in your own (carnal) wills, and judge by such a law, then you will make the innocent suffer, and oppress them who walk in the law of God, and in the exercise of a pure conscience: Christ was put to death by such a law, and the saints in all generations were persecuted by such laws which were made in the will of man, contrary to the will and law of God: so take heed what you do, and know your place and the length and breadth of your law, which is committed to you, which is to keep the outward man in good order, and the nation in peace and truth, and from theft, and murder, and adultery, and quarreling, and drunkenness, and wronging one another, and such like: such who act these things walk contrary to the light, and so bring themselves under the penalty of

the law: but over the inward man your law, which is outward, hath no power to limit, to tie to or from any way of worship in religion; but let religion defend itself, and lay not your law upon the conscience to exercise dominion over it (for it is Christ's seat in which he will rule), lest you be found tyrants and numbered for destruction; nor limit the Spirit of the Lord, how, when, where, and by whom it must speak; for the holy men of God in all ages ever cried against such rulers as did judge false judgment, and for gifts and rewards, and against such priests and prophets as preached for hire and divined for money, and sought for their gain from their quarter, and through covetousness made merchandize of souls: therefore ye be warned, if such you uphold, by law, who act such things which the Scripture declares against, the Scripture which you profess will stand a witness against you, and the law of God will condemn you; and God will lay your honour in the dust, and cast you out of the seat of judgment: but judge the cause of the poor and needy, of the widow and fatherless, and join mercy with judgment, and lay your swords upon oppression and all tyranny and wrong dealing, that the land may be cleansed of evil-doers, and equity and righteousness may flow down, and the nation in good order may be kept, in peace and righteousness, and so God will establish you among his children, who are taught of him alone, and are far from oppression.' Written at Dublin the 23d of the Eighth month, 1655, by Edward Burrough.

He also wrote another paper entitled, 'The Unjust Sufferings of the Just declared, and their Appeal to the Just Witness of God in all Men's Consciences,' which was as follows:

'To all ye colonels and commanders and officers, and to all the honest-hearted in the city of Dublin and elsewhere, to whom this may come.

'Hereby we the prisoners of the Lord, for the testimony of Jesus, and for the exercise of a pure conscience, do lay down our cause before you, and to the light of Jesus Christ in all your consciences we appeal in this our cause of righteousness and innocency, to be judged thereby. We are men fearing God and working righteousness, and are friends to the commonwealth of Israel, and are exalters of justice and true judgment in the earth, and are subject to all just power, and to every just ordinance of man for conscience-sake, and have suffered the loss of all, and have borne part of the burden with you, that we might obtain the freedom of the righteous seed, and the liberty of tender consciences, to serve the Lord in his own way; and we are well known to the Lord though strangers to you, and are freemen in the record of heaven, though now sufferers unjustly under your present authority, who have taken the place of exercising lordship over our pure consciences, and have imprisoned us, and endeavoured to give judgment of banishing us, only upon false accusations, and informations and slanders, without the proof or testimony of any accusation of evil justly laid to our charge. And to you hereby be it known, that not for evil-doing do we thus suffer, for to this present no man hath convinced us of any evil, nor justly proved the transgression of any law, martial or civil, against us, though we stand accused of many grievous things, of which we are clearly innocent in the sight of him that lives for ever, and do nothing more desire herein but to be tried by the law of equity and righteousness and judged according thereunto. By virtue of command given unto us by the eternal Spirit of the Lord came we into this land of Ireland, contrary to the will of man, not to seek ourselves, nor our own glory, nor to prejudice your nation nor government, nor to be hurtful to your commonwealth, but with the message of the gospel of Christ Jesus we came

to turn from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to the power of God, and to minister the word of reconciliation and salvation freely (without gift or reward) unto lost souls ; and hereof God is our witness, and also we have the seals of our ministry, which unto us herein can give testimony by the same spirit, and this are we ready to seal with our blood. And these six months and upwards have we laboured in travels and sufferings, and reproaches, and have passed through your cities and towns in soberness ; and in meekness have we preached the kingdom of God, and have holden forth the word of truth and the testimony of Jesus ; and our lives have we not loved till this day, though sometimes dangers on every side have beset us, that we might hold forth the faith of Jesus, the author of our profession, in the exercise of a pure conscience, both by doctrine and conversation ; and herein are we justified in the sight of God, and who is he that condemns us ? And we call heaven and earth to record, and the light in all men's consciences who have heard our doctrine and seen our conversation, to witness for us herein ; and we challenge all your nation of Ireland, our very enemies, to prove the contrary ; though otherwise we stand falsely accused and falsely reputed to be disturbers and makers of disorders, to the breach of publick peace and such like grievous things, upon the false information whereof a warrant was issued out from the chief ruler and council of Ireland, and we thereby were apprehended in the city of Cork, and haled by guards as malefactors too, before the council in this city, where none of all these false accusations were or could be proved against us, nor the transgression of any known law could we be convicted of ; and though occasions were sought against us, yet none could be found, and though snares were laid for our feet, yet were we not entrapped, but were cleared in the sight of God,

witnessed by the light in all their consciences, and were found innocent and without reproof in the eye of the Lord ; and by our innocence were their orders of false accusations made of none effect, and we thus far proved to be guiltless before the throne of true judgment : yet notwithstanding, contrary to the light in their own consciences, and contrary to the just laws of the nations (which afford freedom to the free-born and righteous) were we committed to prison without conviction, or any guilt charged upon us, or the least appearance of evil towards any man's person, though falsely accused, yet no true testimony given against us, whereby our boldness in the way of the Lord could be discouraged, as having the testimony of the Spirit of God bearing us witness in the Holy Ghost, that in all good conscience towards God and towards man we have lived to this day ; also are without reproof in the sight of God and all just men ; and though upon search and examination we were found guiltless thus far, yet farther hath the enemy, the devil, prevailed in cruelty against the innocent, that it is endeavoured that we be banished under the account of vagabonds, which last accusation is the most false and unrighteous ; for we challenge this, Of whom have we begged ? Or to whom have we been burthensome ? Or whose bread have we eaten for nothing ? Or what evil have we done ? Where is the testimony of your slanders ? But innocently do we suffer these things, bearing reproaches, and binding the cruelty done unto us as chains about our necks, and as crowns upon our heads, having the assurance that for well-doing we suffer these things from the hands of the rulers, through the lies and flanders of the teachers, who are in Cain's way of persecution, till they have fulfilled their measure of wickedness, and be laid waste as the wilderness. And this is our cause, and hereby it comes before you, by the light of Christ in your consciences to be judged, if your hearts be not altogether hardened, and your mind

wholly blinded ; and we lay it at your door to receive sentence from you, and without respect of persons hold forth our guiltless cause before you, not begging any thing from you, but herein to clear our consciences, that you may save yourselves from this untoward generation, whose root is corrupt, and fruit bitterness ; for while we have breath from the Lord, and enjoyment of his presence, our duty is to serve the Lord, in bearing witness against injustice, and all cruelty and oppression, and shall appeal to receive justice from the present power that now rules ; for in the name of the Lord we challenge our privilege of freedom, as being free born, till we be accused guilty by the just law of equity, unto which we are subject for conscience-sake, and not to any man's will, but by word and writing are bound by the law of God to bear witness against the unjust proceedings herein of the heads and rulers of Dublin ; and shall seal our witness against them, and against their unrighteous decrees sealed in their cruelty against the innocent, with our blood, if thereunto we be called.

‘ Edward Burrough.’

Dublin, the 26th of the Twelfth Month,
1655.

He also wrote a paper dated from the city of Cork, entitled, ‘ A Discovery of the Idol Dumb Shepherds in Ireland, and a Lamentation over their Starved and Strayed Flocks.’ And another from Catherlough, entitled, ‘ An Invitation to all the poor desolate Soldiers, to repent, and make their Peace with the Lord, and their Duty shewed them what the Lord requires of them.’ Both which may be seen in his works.

So much may suffice as specimens of the said Edward Burrough’s method of addressing strangers : I shall next subjoin an epistle of his to the brethren here, both as a specimen of the language and sentiments of friends in those days, and as containing matter

not unworthy the attention of those of the present generation, viz.

‘ To all the seed of God in Ireland, whom the Lord is gathering by his out-stretched arm, and making vessels of his honour, that he may dwell with you.

‘ The grace, mercy, and peace of God be increased amongst you, that the Father may reap fruit of you, who is glorified by bringing forth much fruit: I say unto you all, Love the Lord and his truth above all things, and let his fear be before your eyes, and his judgments in your hearts continually, that you may never offend his Spirit in you, nor grieve his righteous soul. Take heed unto yourselves and be watchful, lest the enemy prevail over you, and lead you aside from the way of truth and peace, and then trouble and wrath come upon you if you sin against him.

‘ Therefore every particular of you know and feel a measure of the strength of Christ in you, that you may be warned against all the wiles of satan, whose power worketh and moveth in the fleshly part which ruleth above the seed of God, which part must be crucified and circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, that you may be pure and clean, vessels of honour fitted for the master’s use; for none can honour the Lord but those that are purified by him, and Christ comes to purify, and he is sitting as a refiner’s fire, and this is witnessed amongst all that wait upon him.

‘ So you that are turned to the power of God in you, mind it and be obedient unto it in all things, and resist the power of satan, which would lead from God, and wait for power that you may be the children of God, and may fulfil his will in all things, and unto this you are called by the preaching of the gospel which came amongst you from the Lord, that you may know things which are eternal, and might be reconciled to God thereby.

‘ I say from the Lord, you are not called to fulfil your own wills in any things, but the will of the Lord in all things, which if you do his will, you will thereby be sanctified, and the old man will be put off, and all the works of the devil will be destroyed, and Christ the second Adam will give you power over all your enemies within and without, as the fleshly part in you is subdued by the working of his Spirit, which every one of you must feel and know, which leads into all truth, and condemneth all evil : and all that are in the evil are not led by the Spirit of God though they profess the Scriptures, and such are not the children of God, nor heirs of his inheritance, which every one of you must wait for, and to be born of the incorruptible seed by the word of God, which lives for ever, which word you must feel in you, and its operation, which is as a fire, and like a hammer : so the saints said it was, and so we witness it to be ; and every one that handles, tastes and feels of this word, thereby is the enmity slain in its ground and fruits, and the body of death is put off, and the new man is put on, who is the express image of God, which every one of you must know and witness, for it is the Father’s mark upon the forehead, for ye that bear it not cannot be justified nor saved in the day of the Lord.

‘ Every one of you having a measure of light from Christ the Saviour, unto this you are to take heed only, and it leads to Christ to receive him and be joined to him : so every one take heed to your own measures of the grace of God, and a sufficient teacher you will witness, and the new covenant you will know, where sin and iniquity is not remembered, but forgiven and blotted out ; and here is the true rejoicing where power is received over all sin, and death is destroyed, and victory is known, and the sonship is witnessed, and into this must every one grow, into perfection and completeness in Jesus Christ.

‘ So all friends, I do warn you all, patiently to wait upon the Lord, that you may witness the fulfilling of the promises, and may know these things in the spirit, and may have them as a treasure in your hearts ; for the knowledge of God is a treasure, and to know him is life eternal ; and it is the upright in heart whom he teacheth knowledge, and it is into the pure heart that his knowledge is put.

‘ So mind that which will purify your hearts, that the Lord may dwell in you and with you, and let love and unity abound one towards another, and serve one another in love ; and all serve the Lord Jesus, and dwell in the cross to the world and all its ways ; for the cross of Christ is the power of God which slays the enmity, and brings forth the seed of God, and every one keep to your own measures which God hath given you, and that will guide you in all the ways of peace.

‘ Judge not above your measures, for then the Lord doth not guide you ; neither be hasty, rash, or forward, for then you go out of God’s counsel, and lay yourselves open to temptations to be overcome of the devil, you going from the light you lose your armour, and that which should defend you from the devil, and your latter end is worse than your beginning, if again you be overcome of him : wherefore all friends, be circumspect and watchful, lest at any time you be tempted and overcome, and so lose your peace, and then trouble and sorrow take hold upon you, whensoever you have lost the countenance of the Lord.

‘ Keep your meetings in the fear of the Lord, and you will see the Lord amongst you, and his presence refreshing your hearts ; and as you are moved with the power of the Lord, be obedient in every thing, and watch over one another with a single eye, and inform and instruct in the fear of the Lord, and be examples one to another in righteousness, and give no

occasion unto the world by an impure conversation, but walk in wisdom and in the fear of the Lord towards all men, that the witness of God in every one may answer for you and justify our God.

‘The Lord hath a seed in Ireland gathering and to be gathered, and your heavenly conversation will preach to others, and so every one will be a minister of Christ in his place, as ye walk in the light which Christ hath enlightened you withal, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that all men may believe; and he that hateth the light remaineth in unbelief and under condemnation; but he that loveth the light, his deeds are wrought in God, and they shall not be condemned.

‘My love in the Lord is towards you all that hunger after righteousness, and my prayers are for you all, that perfect rest you may obtain, and salvation.

‘I am now a prisoner for Christ’s sake, and for his truth’s sake, through the cruelty of men who hate the Lord and his servants, but am perfectly well in the Lord, knowing that this shall be for the furtherance of the gospel of Christ. The presence of the Lord be amongst you all, and his eternal power give you victory over all your enemies. Amen.

‘Edward Burrough.’

From the common gaol in Kingston upon Thames, in the county of Surry, the 25th day of the Sixth month, 1657.

Concerning the said Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, this testimony is given in the account of the early sufferings of friends in Ireland, viz.

‘They were made a blessing to us, the Lord working mightily by them, to the turning of many from darkness to light, and from satan’s power unto God; and their doctrine and conversation was such as truly reached unto and answered the witness of God in our

consciences ; and we may praise the Lord on their behalf, who were unto us the messengers of salvation.*

The same day, or a few days after that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil were banished for England, landed Barbara Blaugdon from the west of England, who went to Henry Cromwell, then lord-deputy, and bad him beware he was not found fighting against God, in opposing the truth and persecuting the innocent ; but like wise Gamaliel to let them alone, for if the work was of God, it would stand, but if of man, it would fall.* The deputy heard her moderately, so that she perceived the enmity did not lie so much in himself, as that he was stirred up to persecution by evil magistrates and priests. Having performed her service in Dublin, she went to Cork, where she had some acquaintance and relations ; but her sufferings were great, for she was imprisoned almost wherever she came, being moved to follow those of her acquaintance into several steeple-houses ; yet wherever her mouth was opened, there were some that received her testimony. Not long after, she was moved to come a second time to Ireland, and in Dublin she went into the court of justice and spoke to the judges, exhorting them to righteousness ; which was taken so ill that she was imprisoned for it, but was released by the intercession of sir William King, colonel Fare, and the lady Browne.†

This year (1656) several others in the ministry came over, and had good service in turning many to the Lord, particularly John Bowran of Cotherstone in Yorkshire, who landed in Dublin, and afterwards travelled into the North. He visited Ireland six times in six years. See Piety Promoted, Part III.

About the same time William Edmundson, was

* See Sewel's History of the Quakers

† Ibid.

moved in spirit to leave off shop-keeping, and take a farm, in order that he might, by his own example, minister strength and encouragement in the testimony which this people deemed themselves conscientiously concerned to hold forth and maintain, against that antichristian yoke of oppression, the enforcing the payment of tithes in these gospel-times. With this view he and several friends leaving the meeting to which they belonged well settled, viz. Richard Jackson, Anthony Jackson, John Thompson, Richard Fayle, John Edmundson, William Moon, and their families, removed and took land in the county of Cavan, and dwelt there, and settled a meeting in that county, and held meetings in divers places to the advancement of truth and increase of friends, several being convinced and joining with friends: particularly John Pim, Robert Wardel, William Neale, William Parker, Thomas Lun, Thomas Morris, John Chandley, John Savage, Isabel Acton, and many more.

But as their numbers increased, so did their sufferings also increase, and they were greatly exposed to the scorn, derision, and foul abuses of the people, in bearing their innocent testimonies, in their lives and conversations, against the pride, pleasures, pastimes, vain fashions and customs, with the excesses and evils that were in the world, both among professors and profane, even the very priests themselves, who incensed the magistrates and other people against Friends, as being hereticks, deceivers, and what not?

Of these sufferings W. E. in particular met with a large share, besides the many hard and dangerous travels and exercises he went through, when he was alone in the times when tories and robbers, after the war, were abroad, being sometimes put under the necessity of passing deep waters in the winter-season where bridges were not built; and once particularly he was put into prison in Strabane, in his wet clothes,

after travelling and swimming, by which he grew sick, and received no help from any but the Lord, who healed him : yet through all these difficulties truth prevailed, and several were convinced, particularly at Strabane, where a meeting was settled and continued until the restoration of king Charles II. but then great sufferings being expected, Robert Burges and another, who were looked upon as the leading men of that meeting, proved unfaithful : the latter through fear of persecution fled, and Burges accepted of the office of a parish-clerk to the episcopal priest that then came in ; but in a little time he was smitten with great affliction both in body and mind, which he believed to be for his backsliding from the truth, as he confessed to W. E. who went to see him in his illness, and soon after he died ; and so through the unfaithfulness of those men the meeting fell.

The state of friends in general, about this time, and some particular memorable transactions at Bel-turbet, are so minutely described in the journal of W. E. that I shall here insert them in his own words, viz.

‘ Now truth was much spread, and meetings settled in several places, many being convinced and brought to the knowledge of God, were added to friends ; but sufferings increased for not paying tithes, priests’ maintenance, and towards repairing their worship-houses, for not observing their holy days (so called) and such like ; they fleeced us in taking our goods, and imprisoned some of us.

‘ In those days the world and the things of it were not near our hearts, but the love of God, his truth and testimony lived in our hearts ; we were glad of one another’s company, though sometimes our outward fare was very mean, and our lodging on straw ; we did not mind high things, but were glad of one another’s welfare in the Lord, and his love dwelt in us.

‘ Now I was often abroad in truth’s service, visiting of friends, and getting meetings in several places. I was moved to travel into Leinster province, and went from place to place as the Lord’s good Spirit guided me. I came to Rossenallis, and there met with two families come out of England, convinced of the truth; from thence I went to Nicholas Starkey’s near Athlone, and had a meeting there on a First-day, to which several sober people came, and the Lord’s power and presence was with us.

‘ From thence I went to Mullingar, and lodged there one night, where was a trooper that was convinced, who rode with me several miles the next day, and continued coming to meetings. I came that night to Finagh, but the inn-keepers in the town refused me lodging, for that (they knew) I was a Quaker: it was in winter-time, and cold weather; so I inquired for the constable, and they shewed me his house. I told him he must provide me lodging, for I was a traveller, had money to pay for what I should have, and had been at the inns, where they refused me lodging. He kept an ale-house, and had also refused me, but after much discourse with him, he told me I must be content with such lodging as he had for me. I told him, to let me have a room with a fire to sit by, and hay for my horse, and I would be content: so I alighted, went into the house, and there were troopers drinking. They soon perceived what I was, and began to scoff and to ask me many questions, which I answered in my freedom; but when I thee’d and thou’d them in our discourse, they were very angry, and one of them swore, if I thou’d him again he would cleave my head; but in our discourse when it came in its place I thou’d him again, and he starting up in anger, drew his sword; but one of his corporals sitting by him stopped him, and commanded him to put up his sword, for there should be no cleaving of heads there; so caused the troopers to

go to their quarters, but he staid with me discoursing late in the night, and was convinced, being tender, received the truth, and came to meetings.

‘ About this time we had a meeting at Belturbet, and the Lord’s power and presence was with us, but the provost of the town was an envious man ; who came with some rude people, broke up our meeting, and took us to prison, both men and women ; we were all night in a very cold place, the women were mightily pinched with cold, it being frost and snow ; the next morning he set all the other friends at liberty, but me he put in the stocks in the market-place, and people gathered about me, where I had an opportunity to preach the truth to them, which they heard with soberness, were tender and reflected much upon the provost for abusing us.

‘ Robert Wardell then (being but a boy) told the provost, he had set a better man than himself in the stocks, and there was a time when such as he durst not have meddled with me ; wherefore the provost took him and set him in the stocks by me ; but his father soon heard of it, and threatened the provost with the law ; for he was then master of the store, (there being a garrison of soldiers there) so Robert Wardell was soon taken out of the stocks ; who being convinced, kept with friends, and afterwards became a serviceable man for truth, and a preacher of it.

‘ The people were much dissatisfied with the provost ; so he sent his officer to let me loose, who opened the stocks, and bid me take out my leg, for I might go my way ; I told him, I had been grossly abused, and made a publick spectacle to the people, as though I had done some great offence, but was not convicted of the breach of any law ; so let the provost come himself and take me out, for he put me in. The provost came and opened the stocks, bidding me take out my leg. I told him, No, for he had

made me a spectacle to the people, and I knew no law that I had broken, but let him take out my leg that put it in ; so he opened the stocks with one hand, and took my leg out with the other : his name was Richard West.

‘ At this time, Oliver Cromwell had put forth a declaration, that such should be protected in their religion, as owned God the Creator of all things, and Christ Jesus the Saviour of man, and the Scriptures, and several other things mentioned therein : so the governor of that garrison, with the officers and chief men in the town, and abundance of people with them (that filled the court-house) would try us by the declaration, whether we and our religion were under Oliver’s protection, or not : the provost was there, and I was sent for in ; the clerk of the garrison, who was then a Baptist (but afterwards a friend) read the declaration, and I was called to answer to the particulars ; I answered them so, that the governor and they with him gave their judgment, that we were under protection, and our religion was to be protected.

‘ Then I called aloud, that they would bear witness, how long we had been imprisoned illegally, and that I sat in the market-place in the stocks wrongfully, and that the law provided reparation in such cases ; several of the chief of them offered to be evidence, if we would take the advantage of the law against the provost ; he was quite dashed and looked very pale. The governor came from his seat, and took me by the hand, saying he was sorry that I and my friends were so abused, and did assure me that he had no hand in it. I asked him, who he was ? He said, he was the governor of that garrison. I asked him, where he had been those two days, that he did not appear with his band of soldiers to appease the uproar ; for I had read in the Scriptures, that at Jerusalem, when there was an uproar on the like account, the governor came with a band of soldiers,

and rescued Paul from them, and appeased the uproar; and was it not a shame for him, that a heathen should out-do him that professed to be a Christian? He was a Baptist, and so were several that were in authority thereabouts. My spirit was borne up in the power of the Lord, as upon the wings of an eagle that day: truth's testimony was over all their heads, and my heart was filled with joy and praises to the Lord; many were convinced that day, and several of them received the truth, and abode in it.

'There was one William Parker, a preacher amongst the Baptists, he had opposed me strongly at a court a little before this; his wife was a friend convinced in England; she was a prisoner with us; they lived then in the country, and his wife not coming home, in the morning he came to look for her, and finding me sitting in the stocks in the cold winter, in the open market-place, he was smitten to the heart; after I had done with them all, I was at liberty, and came to friends with my heart full of joy. The said Parker was with friends, so I asked him, what he thought of his brethren, to suffer us to be thus used, and they chief in command in that place? He answered with tears in his eyes, he was ashamed of them, that had been so long professing and fighting for conscience, now to suffer conscience to be trodden in the dirt; he went to them no more, but came to our meetings, taking up the cross of Christ, and became an honest, zealous man of truth, having a publick testimony in meetings, and died in the true faith which Jesus is the author of.

'There was also one William Morris, an elder amongst the Baptists, in great repute, captain of a company, justice of the peace, commissioner of the revenues, chief treasurer in that quarter, also chief governor of three garrisons; to whom the news of this day's work was soon carried, whereat he was much troubled in mind, and told the messenger, who

was a justice of peace, it was a shame for them to suffer us to be so abused, saying, the time would come, that they would be glad to shelter under our wings. The rumour soon went among the Baptists, and to the court at Dublin, that capt. Morris was turned Quaker, whereupon he was removed with his company Southward; not long after he was sent for to Dublin, to appear before the general and chief officers, many of whom were Baptists; he was examined about his being turned Quaker, which he did not deny, but confessed our faith and principles, and at that time was discharged from his command, because he was a Quaker; he was a worthy, wise man, had a testimony in our meetings, and died in the faith of Jesus.'

Thomas Loe, who was a lively minister of Christ Jesus, and could divide the word aright, came over this year (1657) from Oxford in England, and had good service in Munster, and from thence travelled to Dublin on foot, where he declared the day of the Lord through the streets thereof; preaching the word of life and salvation from James's gate until he came to Lazer's hill: he lodged at Stephen Rich's, where he sometimes had meetings; also at captain Allen's, but the settled meeting was at George Latham's by Plegate: he had blessed service, and many were convinced by him. Dublin was also visited this year, by W. E. Edward Cook, and others, who had good service, being instrumental to the convincement of several.

Richard Roper and William Waller also came over about this time, in the service of the truth: they were sincere and serviceable men, and they and Thomas Loe visited some friends who had received truth in the county of Carlow, and several were convinced by their testimony, as Thomas Weston and his wife, Henry Rose, and others.

The before-mentioned Thomas Loe also visited

friends in Ulster, and had good service, many being convinced by him there, as also in most other parts of the nation.

This year (1658) friends in the ministry, with great zeal and fervency, travelled up and down, and settled meetings where they could in new places; and particularly W. E. travelling towards the Moate, a meeting was held at the house of Nicholas Starkey at Ballykilroe, being the first meeting that friends had obtained in those parts.

This year (1659) landed at Donaghadee in Ulster, John Burnyeat, an eminent, faithful servant of the Lord. He travelled on foot through divers parts of that province, and by his means many were convinced, and converted to God from the evil and vanity of their ways. From thence he travelled to Dublin, and had good service for truth there, from whence he proceeded to Mountmelick, to Kilkenny, and so to Munster, thence to Ross, Wexford, Carlow, and back again to Mountmelick, and had meetings in other places as he travelled, preaching the true faith of Jesus, and returned to the North; and at Lurgan he met with Robert Lodge, who was newly come from England, who was also an able minister of Christ, and they joined in travels as true fellow-labourers in the gospel of the Son of God, spreading truth and convincing many. They went to Londonderry, but when the people discovered what they were, they were unwilling to receive them, or let them have lodging for their money. They went to the steeple-house there on the First-day of the week, and had a good opportunity to declare the truth among the people; but at length the mayor sent his officers and forced them out of the city, from whence they proceeded to several other places in the province of Ulster, and to Dublin, Mountmelick, Athlone, Galway, Limerick, Cork and Bandon, and returned to the North again: and thus they spent their time with diligence and hard travel,

often in cold, hunger, and hardship, many parts of the country being then uninhabited. They were imprisoned several times, as in Armagh, Dublin, and Cork, besides other abuses that they received, because of the testimony they had to bear in towns and steeple-houses, against hireling priests: and thus having laboured in the gospel together for the space of twelve months, and being instrumental to the convincing and gathering of many to the truth, being clear of their service here, in the Seventh month, 1660, they took shipping at Carrickfergus for England.

Among others that believed and were added to Friends bout the years 1658 and 1659, and continued faithful and serviceable in their day, by the lively ministry of the above mentioned Thomas Loe, W. E. John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge and others, were Francis Robson, Roger Webb, Peter Ross, Robert Hooke, and George Gregson, who after some time was endued with a clear, lively, convincing gift of the ministry.

This year (1659) several of the friends above-mentioned,* by reason of their landlords not performing covenant with them, removed from the county of Cavan, and settled in and about Mountmellick, in the Queen's county, viz. W. E. Richard Jackson, John Edmundson, John Thompson, William Moon, John Pim, and others, with their families; and several having been convinced thereabouts some time before, a meeting was settled at Mountmellick, which is since become large. As to the places they removed from, they left the meetings there in a settled condition, and so they continued, particularly the meeting at Cavan, until it was lost by means of the wars, friends that lived there being dispersed thereby, and driven from their habitations.

This year a meeting was settled at or near Moate, at the house of Thomas English. Some time after

* See page 99.

John Cliborne, James Wisely, Henry Fuller, formerly a captain, Abraham Fuller, Samuel Strangman, Thomas Beale, William Slade of Athlone, and many others being convinced, the meeting was removed to the house of John Cliborne at Moate.

About the same time W. E. and other friends visited Drogheda, where some were convinced, and a meeting settled : much labour of ministering friends hath been since bestowed upon that place, but through the un-faithfulness of several who lived there, the meeting hath decayed rather than increased, yet a small meeting remains there unto this day.

Robert Turner having, about the year 1657, been instrumental to the convincement of a few who lived at Grange, near Charlemont in the province of Ulster, this year (1660), their numbers being considerably increased through the labours of other travelling friends, a meeting was settled there.

About this time also a meeting was settled at Ballynakill in the Queen's county, Christopher and John Raper being convinced.

The state of Friends this year (1661) is described in the following words, by W.E. in his journal, p. 39, 40.

' Now was king Charles coming in, and these nations were in heaps of confusion, and ran upon us as if they would have destroyed us at once, or swallowed us up ; breaking up our meetings, taking us up in high-ways, and haling us to prison ; so that it was a general imprisonment of friends in this nation. I was prisoner at Maryborough, with many more friends, yet the Lord supported and bore up our spirits above sufferings and mens' cruelties ; so that friends were fresh and lively in the Lord's goodness and covenant of light and life, contented in the will of God ; for we had many heavenly, blessed meetings in prison, and the Lord's presence with us, to our great comfort and consolation in him, who wrought liberty for us in his own time.'

This year (1664) John Burnyeat aforementioned, came over a second time and visited friends in many parts of the nation, and had good service, several being convinced by his means, and about the Seventh month he took shipping at Galway for Barbadoes. The number of friends increased greatly, and many visits this nation had in those days by faithful labourers in the gospel, both of its own inhabitants and strangers, notwithstanding that through the covetousness of the priests, great spoil was made of friends goods, a great deal being forcibly taken away for tythe and other demands, which friends for conscience-sake could not pay; whence some of them were cast into prison upon writs of excommunication and definitive sentences; yet still the Lord wrought favour in the hearts of rulers, and sheriffs were often very favourable to friends, granting them their liberty when it was in their power.

The state of friends at this time (1665), about Mountmelick, is thus described in William Edmundson's journal:

' I having my liberty, found a concern on my mind, to solicit the government against the priests' fierceness and cruelty: for George Clapham, priest of Mountmelick, endeavoured to prevent the miller's grinding our corn for our families, or any to speak or trade with us or any of our families; he watched the market and friends shops; and those he saw or knew to deal with friends, he sent the apparitor to summon them to the bishop's court; so forced them to pay him and the apparitor money, to get freed from that trouble, they being afraid of the bishop's court, it bore such a great name.'

' This priest told his hearers, that if they met any of us in the high-way, they should shun us as they would shun the plague; and if they owed us any thing, they need not pay it; or if they knocked us on the head, the law would bear them out. At which

the people were mightily troubled, and in general their love declined from the priest, and drew towards friends ; they would offer their servants to carry our corn to the mill, that we might get bread for our families, or any other kindness they could do for us.

‘ I drew up a great deal of his gross proceedings, and got many hands to them of his own people, who had been abused ; so went to Dublin and petitioned the government, who with the primate took notice of it, and the privy-council resented it, being contrary to all law and rule ; so sent an order for the priest and apparitor to appear before the council ; they came, and were sharply reproved, and had been punished (for the primate said he would make them examples), but that I told him, we desired nothing but to be quiet, and live peaceably in our callings, and that they would desist from their cruelty. The primate, Boyle, who was also chancellor, said, if they do not desist, do but write to him, and he would make them examples to the nation ; so I forgave them, and let all fall. This gained much on the minds of many chief men in authority.

‘ Now this priest was very angry against me, although I had forgiven him as aforesaid (being very greedy and covetous). One time he took a neighbour’s horse and cart, came to my house, and loaded and carried away a great deal of cheese ; also at that time took away much goods, corn, and wearing-clothes, from friends of our meeting, for some church-dues as he said ; and I being at a meeting in Mountmelick, as I used to be when at home, he being a justice of the peace, sent a constable to apprehend me, and made a mittimus to send me to Maryborough goal ; but the earl of Mountrath superseded his warrant, and set me at liberty till the assizes.

‘ When the assizes came, he stood by me against the said priest, who had drawn up two indictments against me ; and when they came into court, four lawyers,

one after another pleaded for me, though I knew nothing of them, or gave them any fee; but the Lord gave us place in the hearts of people, and their bowels yearned towards us. The indictment was quashed, and the priest hissed at by the court to his shame; the judge also turned against him; several friends came a great way to see and hear the trial, and greatly rejoiced in the Lord to see the priest frustrated in his evil designs.

Another time this priest Clapham indicted several friends of our meeting at the assizes at Maryborough, and me, for being at a meeting such a day, which he called an unlawful assembly, and for not being at church (as he called it) the same day; he also indicted me for not paying a levy, or fees, towards the repairs of his worship-house; though the wardens and constable had before taken from me for the same, a mere worth three pounds ten shillings. Several friends were thus proceeded against, and we were fined, and order given to distrain our goods: so I rode to Dublin and petitioned the lord lieutenant and council. I and one other friend were admitted into the council chamber, to state our grievance, and had a very fair hearing, that judge being present who gave judgment against us at the assizes; the council gave their judgment that their proceedings were illegal; and the lord lieutenant would know, why we did not pay tithes to the ministers? So I shewed him out of the Scriptures, the law was ended that give tithes, and the priesthood changed that received them, by the coming and suffering of Christ, who had settled a ministry on better terms, and ordered them a maintenance; he would know, what maintenance the ministers must have? I told him, 'Christ's allowance;' and I shewed him from the Scriptures what it was, as the Lord opened them to me, by his Spirit and Power that was with me, which gave me wisdom and utterance, and set home what I said to their under-

standings. There were three bishops present, and not one of them replied in all this discourse, though so nearly concerned in it. In the conclusion, the lord lieutenant bid God bless us ; adding, we should not suffer for not going to their publick worship, neither for going to our meetings. Now this quieted the priest, and it soon went abroad, that the Quakers had the liberty of their religion, which was a great ease to friends, for we had been often imprisoned, and had much goods taken from us on that account.'

In the year 1666 a certain person, who afterwards became very conspicuous for his good services both to the church and to mankind in general, viz. William Penn was convinced ; his father, sir William Penn, then vice-admiral of England, having committed to his care and management a considerable estate in this kingdom, which occasioned his coming hither ; and being informed that Thomas Loe was to be at a meeting in Cork, he went to hear him ; who began his declaration with these words ; "There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world ; upon which subject he enlarged with great clearness and energy ; and by the living and powerful testimony of this man (which had made some impression upon his spirit ten years before) he was now thoroughly convinced, and afterwards constantly attended the meetings of the people called Quakers, even through the heat of persecution.

On the 3d of the Ninth month, 1667, being again at a meeting at Cork, he, with many others, was apprehended and carried before the mayor, who observing that his dress discovered not the Quaker, would have set him at liberty, upon bond for his good behaviour ; which he refusing, was, with about eighteen others, committed to prison. He had, during his abode in Ireland, contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry,

and, being now a prisoner, wrote the following letter

To the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster.

' The occasion may seem as strange as my cause is just ; but your lordship will no less express your charity in the one, than your justice in the other.

Religion, which is at once my crime, and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but mine own freeman ; for being in the assembly of the people called Quakers, there came several constables back'd with soldiers, rudely and arbitrarily requiring every man's appearance before the mayor, and amongst others violently haled me with them. Upon my coming before him, he charged me for being present at a tumultuous and riotous assembly, and unless I would give bond for my good behaviour, who challenge the world to accuse me justly with the contrary, he would commit me. I asked for his authority ; for I humbly conceive without an act of parliament, or an act of state, it might be justly termed too much officiousness. His answer was, A proclamation in the year 1660, and new instructions to revive that dead and antiquated order. I leave your lordship to be judge if that proclamation relates to this concernment : that only was designed to suppress fifth-monarchy killing spirits ; and since the king's lord lieutenant and yourself, being fully persuaded the intention of these called Quakers by their meetings, was really the service of God, have therefore manifested a repeal by a long continuance of freedom, I hope your lordship will not now begin an unusual severity, by indulging so much malice in one whose actionsavour ill with his nearest neighbours, but that there may be a speedy releasement to all for attending their honest callings, with the enjoyment of their families, and not to be longer separated from both.

And though to dissent from a national system, imposed by authority, renders men heretics, yet I dare believe your lordship is better read in reason and theology, than to subscribe a maxim so vulgar and untrue; for imagining most visible constitutions of religious government, suited to the nature and genius of a civil empire, it cannot be esteemed heresy, but to scare a multitude from such enquiries as may create divisions fatal to a civil policy, and therefore at worst deserves only the name of disturbers.

But I presume, my lord, the acquaintance you have had with other countries, must needs have furnished you with this infallible observation, that diversities of faith and worship contribute not to the disturbance of any place, where moral uniformity is barely requisite to preserve the peace. It is not long since you were a good solicitor for the liberty I now crave, and concluded no way so effectual to improve or advantage this country, as to dispense with freedom in things relating to conscience; and I suppose were it riotous or tumultuary, as by some vainly imagined, your lordship's inclination, as well as duty, would entertain a very remote opinion. My humble supplication therefore to you is, that so malicious and injurious a practice to innocent Englishmen, may not receive any countenance or encouragement from your lordship; for as it is contrary to the practice elsewhere, and a bad argument to invite English hither, so, with submission, will it not resemble that clemency and English spirit, that hath hitherto made you honourable.

If in this case I may have used too great a liberty, it is my subject, nor shall I doubt your pardon, since by your authority I expect a favour, which never will be used unworthy an honest man, and

Your Lordship's faithful, &c.

‘ W. Penn.’

His request in the letter, so far as related to himself, was quickly granted, for the earl forthwith ordered his discharge.

His late imprisonment was so far from terrifying, that it strengthened him in his resolution of a closer union with that people, whose religious innocence was the only crime they suffered for. And now his more open joining with the Quakers, brought himself under that reproachful name.*

From the year 1665 to 1668, it doth not appear that Friends were under any great sufferings, except by the priests, on account of tithes, &c. but the number of friends increased, and they gained credit by their faithfulness, and several new meetings were settled, whereof an account is given in due place hereafter.

And now the number of friends being become great, the necessity of church-government and discipline did more and more appear; and the weight thereof did rest upon some, and chiefly upon W. E. whom the Lord hath been pleased to honour, as the chief instrument in this land, for the spreading of truth, and preserving friends faithful therein; so that provincial meetings were set up to be held once in six weeks, and these were prior to the monthly meetings (even as the quarterly meetings in England were also prior to the monthly meetings there); and those affairs which have since fallen under the cognizance of monthly meetings, were transacted at the provincial meetings, because in those times of infancy and sufferings the mutual help and advice of brethren assembled from different parts was necessary, when particular meetings were frequently but small and weak. The chief business of these meetings was to take care of the poor, fatherless, and widows; that marriages should be decently and orderly accomplished

* See Penn's Works, Vol. I.

according to the example of Holy Scripture, that justice and equity upon all occasions might be practised by such as frequented our assemblies; and whereas some of these did not walk consistently with their profession, it was necessary that the judgment of truth might be exercised on such, in order that the Christian reputation of the society might be maintained and preserved.

Thus was good order and discipline introduced in this kingdom, which was further confirmed, and monthly meetings and national half-year's meetings, were established here upon the arrival of George Fox, in the following year.

In the mean-time, in the year 1668, died that eminent minister of Christ, Thomas Loe, concerning whom the friends of Ireland have left the following testimony :

‘ He was a man of an excellent gift, sound, clear, and powerful in his ministry, elegant in speech, sharp and quick in his understanding, and his testimony was very convincing, to the stopping the mouths of gainsayers. Much people flocked after him; many friends up and down this nation received their convincement by him, and many were by him confirmed in the Truth. He was often in meetings engaged by priests and opposers of truth, in which exercise he was as a sharp threshing instrument in the hand of the Lord to confound them. In conversation he was sweet and pleasant, and sympathizing with friends under afflictions, in which state, yea, and in all states, he had a word in season to administer. He travelled this land very much, visiting it several times from England, and was several times a prisoner for his testimony to the truth. He was freely given up to spend and be spent in the service of the gospel, and in his last visit to Ireland, his natural strength was much impaired; after which when his service

was finished, he returned to England, and laid down the body at London in great peace, singing praises to the Lord on his death-bed: whereof a more minute account may be seen in the first part of Piety Promoted.

The county of Wicklow, which had been formerly visited by Thomas Loe and John Edwards, was this year, 1669, visited again by J. Haydock and some other friends, who had good service; Thomas Trafford, the Penroses and some others being convinced; and some time after a meeting was settled at Thomas Trafford's house at Garrymore; but the said Thomas removing to Wicklow, some time after, it pleased the Lord to give him a share in the ministry, and the meeting was kept there.

This year (1669) also came over from England in the service of truth John Kilburne, who had good success, and Roget Roberts particularly was convinced by his ministry.

The same year also was memorable for the arrival of that eminent minister and elder in the church, George Fox, who together with Robert Lodge, James Lancaster, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs, landed at Dublin, and had a large meeting there on a week-day, and thence passed on to other parts, and had great service both among friends and other people.

After the conclusion of one of their meetings some Papists who had been present, were angry and raged much: whereof when George Fox heard, he sent for one of them, but he refused to come to him, whereupon George sent a challenge to him with all the friars, monks, priests, and jesuits to come forth and try their god and their christ, which they had made of their bread and wine, but no answer could he get from them, wherefore he told them they were worse than the priests of Baal: for Baal's priests tried their wooden god, but these durst not try their god of

bread and wine, and Baal's priests did not eat their god as they did, and then make another.*

George Fox in his journal gives the following account of this visit :

' The priests and magistrates were envious, but the Lord disappointed their counsels, and gave us many sweet and blessed opportunities to visit friends and spread truth in that nation. Meetings were large, friends coming to them far and near: many were reached, and convinced and gathered to the truth, and friends greatly refreshed. Oh the brokenness that was among them in the flowings of life! so that in the power and spirit of the Lord many together broke out into singing with audible + voices.'

The said George Fox had a singular gift in church discipline, and having in the year 1667 recommended the setting up of monthly meetings throughout England, he in the year 1668 wrote to Ireland and other countries, advising friends to settle the like meetings there also, and afterwards visited those countries in person, (and particularly this kingdom this year) and assisted them in settling their men and women's meetings, and at Dublin he recommended the holding their men and women's meetings every two weeks, which hath been continued ever since; and the general meetings, consisting of some from each province, were concluded to be held half-yearly, on the Third and Ninth months, the first appointed meeting of which sort was in the Third month, 1670, and this settlement remains unto this day.†

In those early days there was little more done at those general meetings than collecting the sufferings of friends for conscience-sake, and making a record thereof with the causes alledged, and by whose order

* This fact may serve abundantly to manifest the absurdity of a scandal which some would affix on the original Quakers, as having been Jesuits in disguise, as it likewise shews that they are one with other sound Protestants, in renouncing the idolatry of the church of Rome.

† See George Fox's Journal.

‡ Altered to a yearly meeting in 1793.

and on whose account; and if any friends were in prison, to endeavour to make proper application for their release.

But in process of time many other weighty affairs, respecting good order and discipline in the church, became the subjects of their consideration in these meetings; and indeed friends of this nation became justly conspicuous by their zeal and diligence in the exercise hereof, and the same good spirit led both them and their brethren in England into the same wholesome rules so excellent in themselves, and so highly conducive to the preservation of a Christian community.

But to return to George Fox; after he had travelled over several parts of the nation and visited friends in their meetings for business as well as worship, and recommended the settlement of meetings of discipline as above, and had answered several papers and writings from monks, friars, and Protestant priests (who were enraged against him) he, with Robert Lodge, Thomas Briggs, &c. returned for England, parting with friends in much tenderness and brokenness in the sense of the heavenly life and power that was manifested among them.

This year (1669) also Solomon Eccles was put into prison at Galway, by an occasion somewhat extraordinary. His zeal was so great that what he judged evil he opposed with the hazard of his life, an instance of which occurred in a strange action he performed in a chapel of the Papists without the said town of Galway, where he went naked above his waist with a chafing-dish of coals and burning brimstone upon his head, and entered the chapel, when all the people were on their knees praying to their idol,* and spoke as followeth: ‘ Woe to these idolatrous worshippers: God hath sent me this day to warn you and to shew you what will be your portion except you repent;

* Or images.

which when he had done, he went away to the town, where he was presently made a prisoner.*

Another transaction of the said Solomon Eccles recorded by the same historian, A. D. 1670, and a memorable instance of his zeal against time-serving, was as follows: the said Solomon going into the cathedral at Cork, found there Benjamin Cross preaching in a surplice, who having formerly been a Presbyterian preacher in Dorsetshire, had there said, that he had rather go to the stake and be burnt, than put on a surplice. This priest (now become a turn-coat for gain) having finished his sermon and concluded with a prayer, Solomon Eccles declared that the prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, and knowing the deceitfulness of the said priest, and that he was an apostate, added these words: "What shall be done to the man that makes shipwreck of a good conscience?" For this he was taken and committed to prison by the mayor, where being kept ten days, he was accused as a vagabond, and, without examination, whipped through the streets of Cork, from north-gate to south-gate, and, having received about ninety stripes, was expelled.

Besides the above-mentioned, several other friends also this year visited this nation in the service of truth, viz. Thomas Janny and John Abraham; and John Burnyeat landed here a third time and had blessed service in Dublin and other parts of the nation; and thus by the blessing of the Lord upon the labours of his ministers, many in divers parts of the nation were convinced of the truth, and joined with friends.

This year (1669) also Anthony Sharp came from England and settled in Dublin, who was very serviceable in many respects to friends, and after some time received a gift in the ministry. See the testimony concerning him A. D. 1706.

* Sewel's History.

THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE CALLED
QUAKERS,
IN
IRELAND.

CHAPTER II.

From the settlement of Church-discipline to the end of the troubles under King James II. The progress and increase of Friends in a state of suffering. Their peculiar zeal and steadiness in keeping up their Meetings for Divine worship in a time of persecution whilst other dissenters fled. The state of Friends under King James II. and their wonderful preservation during the troubles. Summary accounts of the lives, characters, and Christian experiences of divers of their eminent ministers interspersed.

SUFFERINGS still attended friends, on divers accounts, particularly for bearing their testimony against the antichristian oppression of tithes, for refusing to swear, for not observing the days called holy-days, and frequently for mere meeting together peaceably to worship God, on which account they suffered imprisonment and fines.

William Penn, who was here this year, did frequently visit his friends in prison, and hold meetings with them, omitting no opportunity he had with those in authority to solicit on their behalf; and as the

Ninth month national meeting was this year held at his lodgings in Dublin, an account of friends' sufferings was there drawn up by way of address, which he presented to the lord-lieutenant,* whereupon an order of council was obtained for the release of those that were imprisoned.

For a more minute account of the sufferings of friends on the above-mentioned and other occasions, I must refer my reader to the Account of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers in Ireland, from the year 1655 to the end of the reign of King George I. published in Dublin, 1731.

The following instance however of the innocency of the sufferers on the one hand, and of the severity of the persecutors on the other, I shall here insert, viz.

Blanch Holden and Margaret Trotter, two very poor women, for going to the publick worship-house at Lisnegarvy, alias Lisburn in the county of Antrim, on the day called Christmas-day, and saying these or the like words, ‘Let them that keep a day, keep it to the Lord,’ were fined by judge Kennedy, at the assizes at Carrickfergus, one hundred marks each, and committed to Carrickfergus gaol, where they continued prisoners above two years.

This year John Banks, from Pardshaw in Cumberland, came into Ireland a second time, having in the foregoing year visited the northern parts of the nation in company with our ancient friend John Tiffin: he landed in Dublin the Third month, the morning the half-year’s meeting began; and on the following Seventh-day of the week, in pursuance of a particular exercise upon his spirit to go to a certain place southward from Dublin, in order to have a meeting there the next First-day of the week, he went from Dublin to Wicklow, where no meeting of friends had been kept before. He, accompanied by two friends, went to an inn that night, and gave notice that he

* John Lord Berkly, Baron Stratton.

intended to have a meeting in that town next day, being the First day of the week: so the report soon spread among the people, that an English Quaker was come to preach there: and there was a mighty noise of it in the place, the people being stirred up by the priest; and the governor, one Hamman, lived at the castle, where a garrison of soldiers was then kept: the following part of this narrative I shall give in the said John Bank's own words from his journal, viz.

' When I was ready to go from the inn where we lodged, the landlady said to me,' ' For God's sake go not along the street, for there is a guard of musketeers waiting at the cross to take you. I will shew you a back way;' I said, ' I accept of thy love, but I must not go any private way, but along the town-street, for I have a testimony to bear for the Lord, in love to the souls of people.' So by that time we were well sat down, before my mouth was opened, came a serjeant with a halbert and a guard of musketeers, and said to me, I must go along with him to the governor. I answered, ' What authority hast thou to take me? if thou hast a warrant so to do, I shall go.' He held out his halbert, and said, ' This is my warrant.' I said, ' You need not to have come to us with your swords and guns, as those that came against Christ, with swords and staves; we are known to be a peaceable people: howbeit I shall go with thee.' So they took me to a house where was the priest, his wife, the governor, &c. The priest was in a great rage when I came in, and said to the governor, ' Sir, this is the deceiver, this is the deluder that is come from England, to delude the people here, I hope you will do justice and execute the law.' The governor being pretty moderate said nothing for some time—and the people being in an uproar pressed in at the door, and I being willing to

let the priest rage on a little, till he had something vented himself, that he might be more manifest to the people, at last said to him, ‘Thou sayest I am a deceiver and a deluder:’ He answered in a great fury, ‘So thou art, so thou art:’ but I said, ‘Have patience, and let thy moderation appear unto all men, and hear what I have to say to clear myself from thy false accusation: for I shall not take thy assertion for proof: I have had patience to hear thee: art thou a minister of Christ?’ ‘Yes,’ said he, ‘I am.’ I replied, ‘but if I prove thee a liar, as by the witness of this people thou art; (in charging me with what thou canst bring no proof for) and if so, thou art out of the doctrine of Christ, and so no minister of Christ, but of antichrist, and so of thy father the devil, and therefore thou art the deceiver and the deluder of the people.’ Upon which the priest’s mouth was stopped.’

And then John had an opportunity of declaring truth to the people; yet the governor committed him and two more to prison: but the gaoler was favourable, and gave them the liberty of a room, where the people followed, and John preached the way of life and salvation to them in and through Jesus Christ, by believing in his pure light, and walking answerable to the teachings of his grace, and reproof of his Holy Spirit; by which they might receive power to become the sons of God, and several were convinced that day, and received truth in the love of it. He was kept in prison three days, where there was a great resort of people to see him, and to discourse about the principles of religion. Then he returned to Dublin, and from thence travelled into the North, visiting friends there; and on his return to Dublin he went to Wicklow again, there being a letter from thence signifying that the

people desired another meeting, which, notwithstanding the opposition of the priest, was held there peaceably; and although the priest, as soon as he had opportunity, began to prosecute and imprison friends for tithes, and such like things, and got several put into prison that came to visit that place, yet truth prospered, and a meeting was set up in that town, and still continueth.

This year (1672) died in Cork, Susanna Mitchell, of that city: she was a zealous faithful servant of the Lord for many years till her decease, and often bore a publick testimony to God's everlasting truth before magistrates, priests, and people; for which she was often a sufferer in bonds, and rejoiced to be found worthy.

This year (1673) friends addressed the lord-lieutenant* and council for relief from their sufferings on many occasions, and particularly this, that whereas they durst not on any account take an oath, as being forbidden by Christ, wicked men laid hold on this their conscientious scruple to ensnare and defraud them, by causing them to be subpoenaed into chancery, where their answers without an oath would not be admitted; for instance, in the county of Wexford, Thomas Holme having about 200l. due to him from captain Thornhill, for which judgment was obtained against him in common law, was subpoenaed into chancery by the said Thornhill, where he well knew Thomas could not answer upon oath, and so this friend lost his debt: and in Dublin, James Fade having about 40l. due to him from one Ezekiel Webb, was by the said Webb subpoenaed into chancery, and because the friend could not give in his answer upon oath, he not only lost the said debt, but was constrained to give above 70l. to get clear of the debtor: and indeed this iniquity continued in practice, and friends were exposed to sufferings on this account, even until

* Arthur, Lord Capel, Earl of Essex.

the reign of our late gracious sovereign George the First, when they were delivered from this yoke of oppression.*

About the same time friends met with great trouble and exercise at Cork, Dublin, and several other places, by reason of divers persons that were gone into the loose and foolish imaginations of Muggleton and others, and perverted into looseness and indulgence of their carnal wills and affections from the cross of Christ and self-denial; but truth prevailed, and God gave an understanding to place judgment upon them.

This year (1675) and about the fifty-fifth of his age, died Robert Sandham, of Youghal, a faithful elder, though not a minister. He was born at Woodcutt near Petworth, in the parish of Graffom and county of Sussex, A.D. 1620, was of a pious disposition from his youth, and joined himself in society with the strictest sort of Baptists, who were a persecuted and tender people at that time; amongst whom he underwent great mockings, stonings in the streets, &c. and was very zealous in their way, travelling up and down on foot with their ministers, insomuch that he obtained the name of young Timothy; but in process of time finding that this people whilst they adhered to the form, had too much lost the power that he first found among them, his anxious soul panted after some further manifestation, and a closer communion with his Maker.

In the year 1650 he came from England a lieutenant in colonel Sanders's regiment of foot, and arrived at Youghal, and in the year 1652, took to wife Deborah Baker of that town, then an Anabaptist, afterwards a faithful friend, of whom hereafter. He was convinced in the year 1655, by the ministry of a woman, viz. Elizabeth Fletcher, who preached in the streets at Youghal. In the year 1661 he was imprisoned at Cork, for not swearing when summoned

* See the year 1719.

to be on a jury, and was fined five pounds, for which he had a horse taken from him of more than twice that value.

In the year 1662, he was in great doubt whether he should settle at Cork or Youghal. Cork yielded him a prospect of the greatest advantage as to the riches of this world, but Youghal was the place where it seemed to him he should be the most serviceable as a Christian, the meeting there being then but small and weak, and upon some late occasion grown weaker; whereas Cork meeting was stronger, having many faithful friends belonging to it: under this consideration he gave up in faith to dwell in Youghal, trusting in God's providence as to his worldly support. In the year 1663, a meeting was settled at his house; but persecution followed; a sentinel being set at his door to keep friends out, and their meetings were broken up by guards of soldiers, and Matthew Appleyard the governor, commanded him with his family to leave the town; but being a freeman, he asserted his liberty as such, and refused to obey the governor's unjust command. The said governor however, forcibly sent him away with a guard of soldiers on foot (not suffering him to ride his own horse, though he desired it, being under some bodily infirmity), to Charleville, a journey of twenty-four miles, there to appear before Roger Boyle, lord president of Munster, afterwards earl of Orrery, who when he had read his accusation, finding him charged with nothing except concerning the law of his God, immediately set him at liberty; and he returned to Youghal, and continued to dwell there, undergoing with patience and courage, the reproaches and sufferings that attended him for the exercise of a good conscience; and a meeting was constantly kept at his house whilst he lived, and after his death, at his widow's, until a meeting-house was built in that town, which was in the year 1681. He

was just in his dealings among men, of a benevolent spirit, ready to do good to all, especially those of the household of faith; zealous and firm in his testimony for Truth, against apostates, backsliders, and false brethren, and particularly against the erroneous and blasphemous principles of Lodowick Muggleton, which prevailed on some, to their utter loss as to truth. He was a sharp reprobate of disorderly and unfaithful walkers, but a help to, and a strengthener of weak brethren and the young convinced, by suitable counsel. He died in a sensible and resigned frame of spirit.

This year (1676) Oliver Sansom visited friends in the work of the ministry, from whose journal the following passage will serve to give the reader a just idea of the devout disposition of friends in those days, viz.

'The general half-year's meeting at Dublin, began on the Fourth-day of the week, at the ninth hour in the morning, and the meeting for worship continued until after the first hour. About an hour after, friends met again in order to consider of the affairs of the church: but the power of the Lord brake forth so mightily among friends in many testimonies, prayers and praises to the Lord, that there was no time to enter upon business that day, and so the meeting broke up. Next morning the meeting began again about the ninth hour, and continued until near the third hour in the afternoon, and a precious heavenly time it was. Then adjourning for one hour, friends came together again to go upon the business of the meeting: but then again the Lord's power mightily appeared, whereby many mouths were opened to declare of the goodness of the Lord, and to offer up prayers and praises to him, which took up the time of the meeting of that day also, so that very little could be done as touching business.

But early next morning friends went about the business of the meeting, and continued at it the greatest part of

that day, and the next day also, when it was concluded, viz. on the Seventh-day of the week, in the evening, having been generally carried on in much unity and harmony.'

The said friend further relates, that besides several publick meetings for worship, and some at friends houses in Dublin, a meeting was also appointed for him at Chappel-izod, and held to good satisfaction, and another again a little while afterwards in the same place. He staid four months in Ireland, and travelled 950 miles.

This year (1678) besides several friends from England one Katharine Norton, alias M'Laughlin, travelled this nation in the service of truth. Her maiden name was M'Laughlin; she was born of Irish parents of account in or near Colerain; and was sent to Londonderry for education, where she remained for some time. When she was sixteen years of age, there came a ship to Derry to take in passengers for Barbadoes, which she embarked in and landed in that island, where she was married; and some time after, that island being visited by George Fox and some others, she was convinced by their ministry; and afterwards became an able minister, and in or about this year, 1678, came on truth's service into the kingdom of Ireland. She visited friends meetings in the North; preached in Lurgan market on a market-day in Irish; had several meetings near Colerain, where her relations lived, and several disputes on the account of truth, which got the victory; from whence she travelled to Armagh, Cavan, the Moate of Granoge; and had several meetings there and elsewhere, to the satisfaction and edification of friends; and some time after she travelled to Dublin, and took shipping for England. She was well qualified for the service, being of a sound judgment, large in testimony, of a good utterance, had of her own to distribute, and did not make the gospel chargeable.

This year (1679) Judith Boulby was here in Truth's service, and being moved to go to Londonderry, having a particular message to that place, she published the same in their publick worship-house, and for so doing was imprisoned ; but committed to waiting, and left with them, the following lines :

A few words as a warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Londonderry, and also to the whole nation of Ireland.

‘ Oh, repent, repent ! for a terrible day from the Lord is approaching, wherein the hearts of many shall fail, terror shall lay hold upon them, but they that fear the Lord shall daily renew their strength. My bowels are troubled, I am pained as one to be delivered, or as one whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord, and because of the word of his holiness. Thus saith the Lord, “ How long will you scorners delight in scorning, and you that hate knowledge harden yourselves against God's reproof ? ” God's day is come, and woe to all the workers of iniquity. Woe is me; woe is me ; for the misery that is coming upon you. Your wound is hard to be cured ; your physicians are physicians of no value ; your watchmen are watchmen of the night. Oh nation, thy teachers have deceived thee, they have spoken a divination of their own brain, and not from the mouth of the Lord ; they have cried Peace, Peace, when indeed, as the Scripture faith, “ there is no peace to the wicked.” The messenger of the new covenant hath been rejected by you, who hath long waited to be gracious. How hath the visitation of his love been sounded forth in your markets and in your streets ? But now the herald of God's wrath, a noise of confusion, terror, and amazement, is even ready to enter into your borders ; a bitter cup without mixture the Lord is handing forth unto the

nations, and you must drink it, except high and low, rich and poor, repent speedily. Oh, is there none to intercede for you, is there none to stand in the gap and stop the judgment, and stay the destroying angel, who is ready with the sword in his hand to execute God's fierce wrath upon the nations ; and though you have driven furiously against the Lord, and against his appearance in his people, the Lord God will strike off your chariot-wheels ; and that which is the joy, and comfort, and satisfaction of God's people, will be your woe and torment ; it will be in you as a worm that will never die, it will gnaw you in your inward parts, and it will be in you as a fire that can never be quenched, until you know that the Most High rules in the kingdom of men, and gives them to whomsoever he pleafeth. And you, O friends, who are put in power to be governors of this nation, O exercise it for God, and while you have a day, prize it, lest that your power be given to others, and then the Scriptures be fulfilled upon you, where God saith, " I called, and ye refused ; I have stretched forth my hand, and no man regarded ; therefore will I laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh ;" when tribulation shall come upon you as an armed man, then shall ye call, but the Lord will not answer, ye shall seek him early, but shall not find him, and then shall ye know that I have not written these lines of myself, but the Lord God hath sent me to proclaim these things in your ears.

‘ Judith Boulby.’

7th Month, 1679.

This year (1680) died William Morris of Castlesalem in the county of Cork ; who, though a man of great parts and wisdom, was convinced of truth by a weak instrument. He was serviceable upon many occasions with the government in appearing on behalf of suffer-

ing friends, though he was also divers times a sufferer in bonds for his testimony. He wrote an excellent short treatise entitled, *Tithes no Gospel Ordinance.**

This year (1682) friends of the three provinces made collections, and remitted to London the sum of 333*l.* to be applied to the redemption of certain friends that were captives in Algiers, in conjunction with money collected in England for the same purpose ; and 28*l.* was subscribed here for the same use, in the year 1686.

In the same year (1682) Benjamin Bangs landed in Dublin, and travelled up and down in the work of the gospel, and had great and good service, many being convinced by means of his ministry. At Antrim, a place of great profession, he had a meeting in the evening, to which a great many came, and some with a design to oppose him. The place was not large enough to contain the people ; which occasioned those without to be very noisy and turbulent, some of the ruder sort pelting them with bits of dirt and turf, whilst Benjamin was preaching : upon which he made a full stop, which occasioned a general silence ; and after a little time he said, ‘ I understand this is a place of great profession of religion ; I am sorry to see so much irreligion as appears amongst you at this time, through your rude behaviour. It is not long since I came out of my native country, and I think it will not be long ere I return again, and then what shall I say of you to your poor suffering brethren in England ? ’ He relates that there was a dread upon them when he spoke these words, which also affected those present, for many of them trembled and their faces gathered paleness. Upon which he advised them, if they had any regard to the reputation of religion, to enquire after those that were the occasion of these disorders ; for that such behaviour was base and scandalous ; and moreover he was moved

* See a further account in 1656, page 104.

to say, that “the time draws nigh that you will be blown away like chaff before the summer threshing-floor, and the place of your meeting will not be found.” After this some cried out in a Scottish tone, ‘We be all ashamed;’ and getting out of the house, enquired after those that were the occasion of the disorders. Some lads they got and beat; others that absconded they took the names of: after which they had a solemn good meeting, the lively sense of the love of God reached to the hearts of many present, and the meeting ended well. At this meeting was a young man, a Papist and servant to William Wilkinson, convinced, as were many more elsewhere in the North, &c. He travelled through Ulster, and several parts of Munster and Leinster, where he had many meetings, having departed from Dublin the 14th of the Ninth, and returned thither again the 25th of the First month, 1683.

After the conclusion of the following third month’s half year’s meeting, he intended to have returned to England; and in order to it had sold his horse, and prepared for the voyage, but the wind proving contrary, he could not get off; and besides, he found some stop in himself, a further service being presented to his view, to which he gave up, though much contrary to his inclination, viz. It fell with some weight upon him to have a meeting at Tralee in the county of Kerry, where William Bingley had been: accordingly he set out from Dublin the 17th of the Third month, taking meetings in the way, and went to Cork, and from thence to Tralee, a journey of one hundred and fifty-eight miles, accompanied by John Hammond, Thomas Wight, and some others. He had a comfortable opportunity at Tralee, many hearts were tendered, the Lord’s presence attending and helping them; and after the meeting ended, the people withdrew in a solemn and peaceable manner. P. White, a man of note in the town, came and

offered them his house to meet in, which they kindly accepted, as also of his invitation to dine with him next day, and parted with him in much friendship. After this he visited several meetings in Leinster province, and went to the North again. As he was going from Antrim to the Grange, he saw ten or twelve men upon the road, walking in a very solitary manner, and it arose in his heart, ‘ These are sheep having no shepherd.’ When he came up to them, he slackened his pace and queried of them, ‘ What news?’ The men were startled at the question, and answered, ‘ We know of none;’ continuing to go softly, he said, ‘ Are ye going to a meeting?’ They answered, ‘ Our minister is silenced, for orders are come down commanding all dissenters not to assemble, so now we have no teacher.’ This brought to his remembrance what he had been concerned to deliver as above, at the evening meeting he had at Antrim, where he met with so much rudeness, viz. that the time draws nigh that “you will be blown away like chaff before the summer threshing-floor, and the place of your meeting will not be found.” At this time all dissenters, except friends, had declined keeping up their meetings. Benjamin proceeded to discourse with the men aforesaid, and said, “The hireling fleeth, because he is a hireling and careth not for the sheep,” as it is said, John x. 11, 12, 13. referring them to the text, further shewing that it is happy for those that are come to the knowledge of that teacher which cannot be removed into a corner. God said, he would teach his children himself, and the children of the Lord are taught of the Lord. See John vi. 45, and Isaiah liv. 13. and you may read in the first epistle of John ii. 27. “The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things,” &c. And in Titus ii. 11, 12. “The grace of God which bringeth salvation,

hath appeared unto all men, teaching us," &c. Here he directed them to the great heavenly Schoolmaster, who said, " Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart ; follow me, and ye shall find rest unto your souls." Mat. xi. 29. Thus labouring to bring them from their hireling teachers, to the teaching of God and Christ in themselves, by which they might come to the knowledge of God and ways of his salvation, " For a manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit ~~withal~~," 1 Cor. xii. 7 ; advising them to turn their minds inward, and mind the secret operations of it, thereby they would find, through a lively experience, that it checks and reproves for bad words and actions ; and as they turned to that, they would find it would lead them into all truth, with many more words to this effect. They were well pleased with this discourse, declaring at parting that they had never heard things so opened to them in their lives.

The number of miles our said friend Benjamin travelled in Ireland were one thousand seven hundred and forty-six ; the number of meetings he had here, exclusive of Dublin, were one hundred and eighty ; and he spent in this service one year within a few days.

William Edmundson and Robert Jackson were put into the bishop's court for tithes, excommunicated, taken with a writ and committed to prison, and they were kept prisoners about twenty weeks. The lord of Ely interceding for their liberty, the bishop ordered them to come to his court at Kildare ; and accordingly they came, and there was the bishop, about ten or twelve priests, the lord of Ely, and several other persons of note, and dean Sing was chancellor of the court. The bishop began to discourse with William Edmundson concerning tithes, which he was unwilling to enter upon, being sensible of his own weakness, but the bishop urging it, a conference was commenced,

which lasted three hours, and in a quiet manner without any other business, wherein wisdom and understanding was given to William Edmundson, and scriptures brought fluently into his memory; so that he proved tithes to be ended, and that it was anti-christian to pay or receive them in gospel times, which was opened so clearly to the understandings of the people, that there seemed to be great satisfaction in the court; and dean Sing stood up before them all and said, if he had known W. Edmundson as well before as now, he should not have suffered; with several other expressions of kindness.

Several other matters were also then discoursed of, and queries answered in relation to gospel-ministers, the Christian religion, faith, and the true worship of God, to the satisfaction of those present; and the bishop, ordering the two friends to appear at the next court, wrote to the sheriff to let them have their liberty till then; and at the next court he wrote again to the sheriff, to discharge them out of prison, which was readily done: thus this suffering and conference had a good effect; and afterwards both the bishop and officers of that court were kind to friends.

This year (1683) died Robert Cuppage of Lambstown in the county of Wexford, a man of an exemplary life and conversation, who loved truth, and had a sound testimony for it, and lived in it as well as preached it to others.

About the middle of this summer the government gave order to the several sorts of dissenters in Dublin, that they should forbear meeting publickly together in their worship houses as formerly. The archbishop of Dublin also sent for Anthony Sharp, and told him it was the mind and desire of the government that friends should also forbear meeting in their meeting-houses; but Friends returned answer, that they believed it was their indispenable duty to meet together to worship the great God of heaven and earth, from

whom we receive all our mercies, and not to forbear assembling ourselves together for fear of punishment from men, for that we met purely to worship the Lord, and not upon any other account. So according to the desire of the government, other professors generally left their meeting-houses, but Friends met together to worship the Lord as formerly, as they were persuaded it was their duty to do: so upon a First-day in the Sixth month this year came the marshal and several of the mayor's officers to the meeting at Wormwood gate; where John Burnyeat being speaking, the marshal commanded him to go with him, which after some discourse he did. He commanded the meeting to disperse, but friends kept quiet in their places. John was carried before the mayor, with whom he had some discourse to this effect: he asked him, why they did act contrary to the government, having been commanded not to meet? John answered, 'We do nothing in contempt of the government.' 'But,' said he, 'why do you not obey then?' John replied, 'because it is matter of conscience to us, and that which we believe to be our indispensible duty, to meet together to worship God.' To which he answered, 'You may be misled;' John told him, 'If we are misled, we are willing to be informed, if any can do it.' Then it was urged, other dissenters had submitted, and why would not we? John said, 'What they do will be no plea for us before the judgment-seat of the great God.' So after some other discourse, the mayor committed John to the marshalsea prison, to which also were taken afterwards Alexander Seaton, Anthony Sharp, and others.

Now several sober persons observing other professors to shrink in this time of persecution, whilst Friends kept their meetings as usual, came to our meetings and became faithful friends.

The consideration of the great sufferings that were

upon Friends in England for their innocent testimony towards God, whereby many of them were brought into great necessity and affliction by the ravenous hands of wicked informers and violent persecutors, being before the national meeting, a collection for their relief was ordered from the several provinces.

Now, as well as before, also in this nation Friends were not exempt from suffering on account of their non-payment of tithes, &c. and the unreasonableness of the fees and costs of the bishop's court; on which occasion they petitioned the lord-lieutenant and council.

This year (1684) was published an account of Friends' sufferings on the occasions aforesaid, and ordered to be sent into the several provinces.

Likewise this year, Thomas Ellwood's book, called *A Dissuasive from Persecution*, was printed at a national charge.

The same year died Thomas Carleton, at Ballynacarrick in the county of Wicklow, who was convinced in Cumberland about the year 1663, before which he underwent great conflicts of soul, which I shall describe in his own words from one of his treatises, viz.

'I was early visited by the love and tender mercy of the Lord, which often presented unto me my state and manner of life, and by the same love and light he made known unto me that his way and worship was a purer, holier way and cleaner life than I had yet attained unto. Thus I was induced to seek after the Lord; I read and searched the Scriptures with much diligence and zeal, and gave myself up to hear sermons, search catechisms, &c. was often tossed in myself like restless waves in a troubled sea, not feeling peace nor stability. I often besought the Lord in contrition of spirit, to clear my understanding and judgment, and make me to know his living way,

truth, and people, sects and opinions then abounding, one saying, Lo, Christ is here, another, Lo, he is there; every denomination construing, wresting, and interpreting the Scriptures to their sundry tenets, and forcing meanings from them to answer their principles, and to maintain every of their interpretations as authentic truths; in all which I was as one without foundation, tossed with every of their windy doctrines; but it still rested with me, that man was created for God's glory, I being ever and anon judged and condemned in myself for sin and disobedience; for the law was come by which is the knowledge of sin, and the commandment being come, sin revived and I died as it were; then sin by the commandment became exceeding sinful, and then I was driven to seek for peace night and day, early and late, in publick and private fastings, feastings, family devotions, &c. running from one house, town, assembly, and worship to another, seeking the word of the Lord in all their sabbaths, lectures, humiliations, or thanksgivings, diligently observing every ordinance in which the minister said, God was to be found, and all to obtain peace with my Maker; but it fled from me, nor was to be found amongst them.

' At length, after much humiliation, contrition, and distress, it pleased the Father to reveal his Son in me; and by his light that gives the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of his Son Jesus Christ, 2 Cor. iv. 6. he was pleased to give me a glimpse of the heavenly land, and of the way to the kingdom of God, which I saw to be in and through the light of Christ Jesus, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, as it was then preached and testified by the servants of the Lord; a measure of which I felt in myself, which told me all that ever I did, secretly condemning every work in me, with every word that was contrary to the will and mind of the Father: and also justifying every word and work that

was according to his will. Thus the Lord having opened my understanding, and given me in measure a feeling of himself, I was forced to conclude (as the woman of Samaria did) that this was the Christ, this was the way, this was the truth ; as by daily experience I found, by the operation of the light in my own heart, compared with the testimony that the saints and servants of God had given in ages past ; and thus in the mouths of two or three witnesses this testimony was established and confirmed in me. But still how to receive and give obedience to it, I knew not, the enemy often raising doubts and fears in me, and the warfare between the flesh and spirit was great. I saw that I should never find peace nor reconciliation with the Lord, until I gave obedience to the light, and came into society with the children of light, and to the worship that stood in spirit ; contrary to all the ways, worships and services of the world, set up in the wills and limitations of men, which I saw to be only formal and traditional, and no less than idolatry, as they then stood in the will-worship, being prescribed and set forth at the wills and pleasures of men, and established by the then present powers, government and authority ; as the Independent Church Faith, the Presbyterian Directory, and the Common Prayer Book of the Episcopals may fully testify ; none being to question or object against any thing that was or is believed by their several churches and assemblies, or prescribed by their rules or canons, directories or service-books (though never so much dissatisfied in conscience), without undergoing the censures or adjudications of their particular societies. But they that are come to the light and liberty of the sons of God, and to live and walk in the Spirit, by the Spirit, they know the anointing which abideth in them, and is truth and no lie, which teacheth them in all things to follow the Lamb only, whithersoever he goes, and the leadings

of his Spirit, and not the formal trash and traditional precepts of men ; and so they are ceased from man and his teachings, knowing the Lord is come to teach his people himself ; whereof I being persuaded in my own heart, was at length constrained to yield and resign myself unto the will of the Lord.' So far Thomas Carleton, respecting himself : let us now hear testimony of the brethren concerning him.

He came to Ireland about the year 1673, was a very zealous, honest friend, and an able minister ; having a divine gift to administer from, in the exercise of which he was very serviceable ; both for the convincing of many who were strangers to the way of the Lord, and for the edifying, building up and provoking to diligence, those already convinced. He was a man of a good understanding and clear discerning, yet of a lowly mind, and ready to prefer others before himself. He usually stood up in great fear and dread, when he was exercised under the powerful word of life. He was valiant in asserting and defending truth against the opposition of its enemies, and patient in suffering for it, as appears from a small tract he published, entitled, *The Captive's Complaint, or the Prisoner's Plea against the burthensome and contentious title of tithes, &c.* wherein are laid down several grounds and reasons against the propriety and payment of tithes in this evangelical day and dispensation. He also published some other small pieces, and particularly an excellent general epistle of admonition and advice to Friends in Ireland and elsewhere.

Whilst other dissenters on occasion of the prohibition lately mentioned, 1685, left their usual meeting-houses and met more privately, Friends still continued both their public meetings for the worship of Almighty God, and those for Christian discipline, and great unity and peace was amongst them ; great numbers

also of other people came to our publick meetings, and Friends gained credit among many sober persons, notwithstanding the prejudice and railing of the other dissenters who fled into corners.

There being a great resort to our meetings about this time (1687) one James Barry an independent preacher raged, and in his public preaching greatly railed against friends : hereupon several of his hearers, like the ancient noble Bereans, came to Friends' meetings to be satisfied whether his accounts were true or no ; and by the ministry of John Burnyeat and others, their prejudices were removed, they were convinced and joined to Friends, and became very serviceable afterwards.

At this time also, viz. under king James, the government having made choice of some friends to serve in corporations, and as magistrates, and some few having accepted thereof, though it was not of their own seeking, a paper of tender advice was drawn up, by order of a general meeting, to friends who were so concerned, to keep to the truth in every thing : that they might shine as lights to the world, and be helpful to bring forth justice, judgment, and righteousness. And

On this occasion George Fox wrote a letter to William Edmundson, dated from Kingston upon Thames, 1687, to this purpose :

“Dear William,

“As for those friends of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other places that have taken those offices of aldermen and burgesses upon them, they must consider and be wise ; for if they keep to truth, they can neither take any oaths, nor put any oaths to any one, neither can they put on their gowns and strange kind of habits, as friends have considered it here when they talk of putting them in such places ; and again, when they have the aldermen, or mayors or

common-council feasts, friends here cannot join them in such things; but if they will make the poor a feast that cannot feast you again, friends have proffered themselves to join with them; but to feast them that will feast you again, and to join with them in their strange kind of habits and formalities, is not like truth, that denies the pomps and fashions of this world: but in their places they should do justice to all men, and be a terror to them that do evil, and a praise to them that do well, and preserve every man both in his natural rights and properties, and in his divine rights and liberty, according to the righteous law of God, &c.

‘ George Fox.’

The latter end of this year (1688) a war broke forth in this nation, threatening a general overthrow of all the English and Protestants, and in that frightful time many of these left their dwellings, stocks, and flocks, and fled, some to England, and some to arms; but friends generally kept their places, and kept up their meetings, and trusted the Lord with their lives and substance, that rules all things in heaven and earth, and bounds the sea, and the raging waves thereof, though under great perils of divers sorts, by reason of multitudes of wicked, unmerciful, blood-thirsty men banded together; and friends in some places became great succourers to some of the distressed English that had their houses burnt, and were themselves driven out of their places, being stript of their substance; and a remarkable thing never to be forgotten was, that they that were in government then seemed to favour us, and endeavour to preserve friends.

But notwithstanding all endeavours used, friends sustained great losses, and went through many perils by the outrageous rabble and plunderers of the country besides the hardships by the army: so that many lost most of their visible substance, and some

were stript naked, and their houses and dwellings were set on fire over their heads, and burnt to the ground, and their lives were in such danger, that it seemed almost impossible that they should be preserved; yet in the midst of such lamentable exercises, the Lord's eminent hand of deliverance wonderfully appeared to their great admiration and comfort.

In the Third month, this year (1689) accounts were sent up to the national meeting, of the sufferings of friends in several parts of the nation, by robberies and spoils by soldiers and other people, and the losses sustained by friends of the province of Leinster appeared to be above 900l.

Hereupon friends made application to king James, who received them kindly, and promised that he would take a particular care that they should be protected.

Notwithstanding it was with great hazard of their lives that friends from divers parts came to the national meeting; yet such at that time was their zeal for the Lord's service, their faith and confidence in his providential care, and their fervent desire of renewed edification, that all the frightful commotions and threatening dangers of those days, could not prevent their keeping up this and other meetings.

The national meeting was now pretty much taken up in considering the distressed condition of their brethren through the nation, and ordering convenient supplies.

At the next half-year's meeting in the Ninth month, it appeared that the losses of friends being still continued and increased, those of the friends of the provinces of Leinster and Munster amounted to above 7000l. sterling; and in the year 1692, it was computed that the losses of friends throughout the nation amounted in the whole to 100,000l.

Now the friends of the Meeting for sufferings in London, sympathizing with their brethren here, did

signify their readiness to assist them ; to which the half-year's meeting returned answer, acknowledging their tender care, however at present they rather chose to decline the acceptance of their friendly offer, the several provinces being as yet able to help one another. However Friends here did afterwards accept of the benevolence of the brethren in England, and in the year 1692, they drew for six hundred pounds towards helping friends here reduced by the late calamitous times, besides one hundred and fifty pounds remitted from London to Ulster, and the sum of one thousand and sixty pounds more was sent for this purpose, from London, which in the year 1692, was ordered to be distributed proportionally to each province, and a letter was sent to the Meeting for sufferings in London, acknowledging their acceptance hereof, but withal desiring that a full stop should be put to their sending any more.

Thus in those calamitous times were Friends very nearly united in affection ; and even from the Friends of Barbadoes there was 100l. sent for the relief of Friends here on this occasion.

This year (1689) king James landing in the South, and coming up to Dublin, the Protestants came to be a little quieter, and better settled in their minds, nor so fearful of a massacre as formerly ; but still great havock was made upon the stock of Englishmen, their cattle, &c. being mostly taken or killed, oftentimes more on purpose for destruction than for want ; and friends underwent those abuses in common with other Protestants.

Here follows a particular account of the sufferings and preservation of friends in those days.

i. At the town of Cavan (a place that lay open to both the armies, and to the cruelty of the wicked rabble), several friends kept their places and dwellings, and held their usual meetings, and though

sometimes in skirmishes between the two armies many were slain, yet friends' lives were wonderfully preserved, though in their outward substances they were spoiled and stripped, and at last commanded by the chief officer of the Irish army to depart, and their houses were burnt.

2. At Old Castle, a place liable to the like perils, a few friends dwelt, who kept up their little meetings, (which belonged to Cavan monthly meeting) and continued there; their lives were also wonderfully preserved.

3. Near Charlemont, in the county of Tyrone, friends thereabouts generally kept their places, and particularly John Whiteside, whose family wonderfully escaped the hands of cruelty with their lives, being in imminent danger often by the Rapparees, and dwelling between two garrisons, one English and the other Irish, who had hot disputes, killing each other at his very house; and once there were seven hundred Irish, to sixty English and French by computation; one of his out-houses was burnt, and he and his son lying sick in another so near, that it was admirable both it and they were not burnt; and yet the Irish were forced to withdraw, who plundered Friends and burnt their houses.

4. One Thomas Greer, a friend, lost his life by a shot made into his mother's house in the night, by a parcel of Rapparees coming to rob the house, as was supposed; and friends of Ulster have left this testimony concerning the said Thomas Greer, that he was an honest friend, and zealous for truth.

5. Near Edenderry (an open place much exposed to the Rapparees) Friends were greatly spoiled in their flocks and stocks, and outward substance, but their lives were wonderfully preserved, though the bloody ravenous Rapparees broke in upon the town one night, and burnt part of it, and killed some of the inhabitants.

6. At and near Roffenallis, in the Queen's county (a place that lay open to the like cruel sort of men), William Edmundson and several other friends kept their places; though under great exercisces, and troubles of divers sorts, and perils too tedious here to mention; till such time as a great party of Rapparees came in the night to said William's house, he and his family being in bed, and with great violence fell upon his house, and several other houses thereabouts, and set his house on fire over his head, firing several vollies of shot in at the windows; and took himself and his two sons bare-legged and bare-headed, and not so much other clothes as to save their bodies from the cold, and hurried them that night through bushes and bogs, mire and water, up to their knees, in cold weather, being the latter end of the Ninth month, about five or six miles, to a wood, where William Edmundson was sentenced to be shot to death, and his two sons to be hanged; and yet several of them owned that he was an honest man, for he had often exerted himself to prevent men of their party from being wronged and abused by the other, and sometimes with the hazard of his own life among the English soldiers; notwithstanding which they hoodwinked his sons to hang them, and having prepared two firelocks to shoot him, they hoodwinked him also; but William told them they needed not, for he could look them in the faces, and was not afraid to die. Now all things being prepared to effect their purpose, they were divided among themselves, and another party came in, who rescued them all three from those that were going to execute them, and took them in a hungry cold condition to Athlone, where colonel Grace was governor; and the people having had notice of their coming, thousands of the worst sort of the Irish were gathered in the great street of that town, and one Nugent, high-sheriff of that county animated them, so that it was a wonder that both

William and his sons were not slain ; but in the interim it so happened that an officer, and a goodly person of great presence, thrust through the crowd of that rabble, and came to William, who was wrapped about with a piece of an old blanket, asking him how he did ; and then turned to the rabble, telling them he knew William to be an honest man, speaking it several times over, with some other words in his favour, which quashed the rage of both sheriff and rabble : thus the Lord provided help in great streights and perils ; then the said William and his sons were taken to the castle, where the governor and many of the field and chief officers of the Irish army were met in council, and there were examined ; and when they understood the state of the case, there seemed to be a sorrow amongst them for the whole action, and the governor, who had been formerly acquainted with the said William, stood up in a reverend manner, and said with tears in his eyes, that he was sorry to see him there in that condition, and if he had the Rapparees that burnt his house, he would cause them to be hanged.

At this time John Clibborn hearing of the distress of W. E. went to visit him, and supplied him with necessaries ; and afterwards, upon giving security for the said William Edmundson, prevailed on the governor to let him and his sons go with him to his house at the Moate ; and in a little time after they were set at liberty.

7. At Moate Granoge, John Clibborn aforesaid, at whose house a meeting was settled by turn, kept his place long in much danger, and so did most friends of that meeting, which they still kept up in great difficulty, it lying but six miles from Athlone, then a chief Irish garrison, and a noted place of refuge, from whence did often scout parties that made great spoil upon the country, and whereunto the bloody Rapparees usually led such English as they caught, and

carried from their own houses, whom they were not permitted barbarously to murder as they had done many.

Whilst the said John Clibborn could possibly keep his house, it was open to all, and a succour to many, both friends and others, and in times of great skirmishes and slaughter he did not flee till at length most hardly used, plundered and quite spoiled in his outward substance. He was taken by the hair of his head by the Rapparees, who plundered his house in the night, threatening to cut his head off; and at last he and other friends were driven from their places, and their houses were burnt.

8. Anthony Robinson and John Miller, dwelling three miles from Athlone, had their houses plundered by the Irish, and afterwards they and their families were threatened to be murdered; had not an Irish justice of peace's wife, a near neighbour, appeared for them, and took them in till the party was so insolent, and ready to break in, that she counted she could not save them, upon which, running to them, she desired them to escape with their lives if they could, and conveyed them into her garden, and thence they made hard shift to get into a wood hard by, and there hid themselves some days and nights in a distressed condition, sought for and hunted by the blood-thirsty Irish Rapparees, but their lives were miraculously preserved, and with great difficulty they got to the aforesaid John Clibborn's house at the Moate.

9. Mountmelick and Montrath, two country un-walled towns (where two considerable meetings of Friends have been settled), by reason of their bordering upon the bogs and mountains, often had great store of the bloody ravenous Rapparees haunting them; and being places of little or no defence, Friends that dwelt in them sustained a large share of the many hardships of the calamitous times, and were greatly

exercised under a concern both for their families and neighbours, still keeping up their meetings with an eye to the Lord, who did not leave nor forsake his people in their many trials, but wonderfully provided for them ; so that it is to be admired how their little provision for their families held out, considering how their houses were filled with people, and many alarms came from the Irish, threatening to destroy those places, and kill all the English.

10. Cloncourse, a lonesome place, where Christopher Raper dwelt, having some walls of defence, and a small English garrison of soldiers being there, was a little shelter to a small number of friends who dwelt near it, and used to meet by turns in that place, who suffered great hardships, having lost most of what outward substance they had, and provisions being scanty, were visited with a pestilential fever, and they were greatly streightened for room.

11. James Hutchinson dwelt at Knockballymagher, near Cloncourse, and kept his place till a party of Rapparees, with some of the Irish standing army, came in the day-time, plundered and burnt his house, took him, and a few English tenants of his, prisoners, forcing him over the Shannon about fifteen miles, and there treated him very coarsely, and compelled him to ransome his life, and then let him go in great hazard. (By the way, several English, both friends and others, met with such like usage in those times). His house had been of great use to the English.

12. Gerhon Boat, dwelling at Borrisaleagh, remote from friends, and ten miles from any meeting, in a place of some strength, suffered many hardships, and escaped many dangers, both at home, and on the road going to meetings ; his house being often set upon by the Irish, both of the army and tories, but was wonderfully delivered out of their hands, and many English families, both priests and others, were succoured there, and helped on their way (when

coming from about the river Shannon, and going to Cashel and Clonmel) who had been much spoiled and stripped in the Irish quarters where they dwelt: he kept his place till general Dayly placed a garrison at his house or castle, and then with great difficulty and danger removed his family to Montrath aforesaid, to live or die with Friends, times looking very dismal.

These particulars may shew the eminent providential hand of the Lord over Friends, and his care and kindness to preserve them in the midst of such great perils, and many more might be instanced; and though in those times many of the English neighbours fell by the hands of those bloody murderers, yet we know but of four that we could own to be of our society in all the nation that fell by the hands of cruelty, and two of them too forwardly ventured their lives when they were lost.

And besides all this, at the return of the armies to winter-quarters, the country was filled with violent sickness, which took away many of all sorts; and several that were driven away from their habitations, and had lost most of their substance, though they yet had left wherewithal to support nature for the present, seemed to grieve at their losses and low estates, and so languished and died; which Friends were greatly supported over, having an eye to the Lord, who not only gives but takes, or suffers to be taken away.

Now it pleased the Lord in mercy (and for a remnant's sake no doubt) to shorten those times of great exercises, that they were mostly ended in less than three years; and Friends generally were low in their minds, and their hearts open one to another, so that those who had something left, were willing to communicate to those that were in want, and friends that were driven from their dwellings did generally return to their places; and the national men's meeting took care that in every quarter Friends should be supplied

for the present with such necessaries as time and their abilities did afford ; and great care was taken in friends settling, that they might settle near together for the benefit of meetings to serve the Lord.

And it is remarkable that Friends meetings were preserved peaceable, and that they kept their meetings according to the usual manner for the worship of God, without much disturbance from either party, as also their men and women's meetings for church discipline, both monthly, provincial, and national meetings ; though many times friends went to them in great perils by reason of the Rapparees, who in many places way-laid people to rob and murder them ; and the Lord was pleased to accompany them in their meetings with his glorious heavenly presence ;* and truth gained ground, and Friends came more in esteem than formerly in the minds of many, both rulers and people, through their innocent wise deportment in the fear of God.

William the Third having been proclaimed king of England, France, and Ireland, came over this year, 1690 ; and, having routed king James's forces at the battle of the Boyne, became the happy instrument of delivering this kingdom from the impending danger of popery and arbitrary power, and of establishing liberty of conscience by law.

It is true that the people called Quakers did enjoy the liberty of holding their meetings for the worship of God according to their consciences, during the presence of king James in Ireland, as well as that their brethren in England had been by him set at liberty from their imprisonment, and that king James on that occasion did declare, that it was always his principle that conscience ought not to be forced, but that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences ;† however, as Sewel observes, ‘ perhaps that prince did not consider that if such a general

* The words of Thomas Wight.

† Sewel's History of the Quakers, Vol. II. page 439.

liberty had been procured, he should not have been able to have made it continue longer than the popish clergy would have thought it convenient; and though the king's intention might really have been sincere, yet it is likely it might have been thwarted, though he might have been willing it should have been otherwise. And time hath shewn that king James was not to be the happy instrument of settling liberty of conscience upon a lasting foundation, but that this work was reserved for that great prince, king William, who being born in a country where force upon conscience was abrogated, when a Protestant government was settled there, now also introduced the like Christian liberty in England.*

This year (1690) died George Gregson, at his house in Lisnagarvy in the county of Antrim. He was born a Papist, in Lancashire, as I am assured, but being convinced of truth, continued faithful in his testimony for the same, patiently bearing the false and malicious reports of wicked and envious men, he being from the time of his conviction, the butt of their hatred and envy; but he was valiant and undaunted in his testimony, chusing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, looking at the recompence of reward and yielding obedience to the Lord's power, whereby he was enabled to declare unto others what God had done for his soul, and his ministry was effectual to the convincing of many of the evil of their ways, and manifesting unto them the way of life and salvation. He was endowed with a great gift of understanding as well as utterance. He was particularly concerned for the youth, and the newly convinced, and for the children of believing parents, that they might not content themselves with a bare profession of the truth which they had received by education and tradition, but that they might come to witness the washing of regeneration, and the being renewed thereby. He

* Sewel, Vol. II. page 439.

travelled in the work of the ministry in this nation, as also in England, and suffered imprisonment and the spoiling of his goods, for the truth's sake. He retained, in old age, his zeal for God and love to the brethren, which he manifested by leaving a considerable part of his outward substance to several meetings of Friends in this nation, and also to Friends in Lancashire.

This year also died, that eminent and faithful servant of the Lord, John Burnyeat, who was born in Cumberland, and was brought forth early in the day of the breaking forth of God's light and power in our age, which many waited for, and were in readiness to receive, with joy and gladness of heart; among whom was this our friend, whose convincement and spiritual exercise thereupon, as he hath himself described it in his own journal, I shall here present the reader with somewhat abridged, but his own words retained, viz.

' In the year 1653, it pleased the Lord to send his faithful servant George Fox and others into the North parts of England, and by the means of their ministry to discover the right path of life unto thousands that were in error, seeking the Lord, but not knowing where to find him, although he was not far from us; namely, by directing us unto the true light and appearance of Christ Jesus our Saviour in our own hearts, that we might come to know him and the glory of the Father, through him in his appearance, and so come to believe in him with the heart, and with the mouth confess him unto salvation; and God by this the light of his blessed Son, which he had lighted me withal, let me see the body of death and power of sin which reigned in me, and brought me to feel the guilt of it upon my conscience, so that he made me as it were to possess the sins of my youth. And now all that I had builded for several years; and particularly my high profession and conceit of an impu-

tative righteousness, and that though I lived in the act of sin, the guilt of it should not be charged upon me, but imputed to Christ, and his righteousness imputed to me; was now, by the shinnings of the discovering light, seen to be but a Babel-tower which God brought confusion upon; a presumption and invention of my own; or but like Adam's fig-leaved apron, in which he could not abide God's coming. I then came to see that the guilt of sin remained while the body of death remained, and led into the act of sin: then began the warfare of true striving to enter the kingdom; then Paul's state was seen, wherein to will was present, but to do, many times power was wanting; then confusion, amazement, horror, and distress beset me. O the poverty and want that my soul saw itself in, through the springings of the discovering light, which also manifested the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the load and burthen of it became exceeding grievous, and all the pleasure of it was taken away from me and many more in that day; and then we began to mourn for a Saviour, and cry for a helper and healer; for the day of the Lord that made desolate had overtaken us, and the fire and sword that Christ brings upon earth, by which he takes away peace, had reached unto us. We often assembled together, as the Lord's messengers had exhorted us, and minded the light of Christ in our hearts and what that discovered, and through its assistance warred and watched against the evil seen therein, and according to that understanding received, waited therein upon the Lord, to see what he would further manifest, with a holy resolution to obey his will so far as we were able, whatsoever it cost us. We valued not the world, nor any glory nor pleasure therein, in comparison of our soul's redemption from that horror and terror we were in, under the indignation of the Lord, because of the guilt of sin that was upon us; and so being given up to bear the in-

dignation of the Lord, because we had sinned, we endeavoured to wait until it would be over, and the Lord in mercy would blot out the guilt which occasioned wrath, and sprinkle our hearts from an evil conscience, and wash us with pure water, that we might draw near with a pure heart, in the full assurance of faith, as the Christians of old did (Heb. x. 22): and waiting in the way of the Lord's judgments, we began to learn righteousness, and strongly to desire to walk therein, and could no longer be satisfied with a talk thereof. And when we were in our deep fears, and our minds not well acquainted with either right striving out of self, in the light and seed of life that doth prevail and give the entrance, or true waiting or standing still, out of our own thoughts, willings and runnings which do not obtain, the Lord sent his servants who had learned of him, to direct us in what to wait, and how to stand still, out of our own thoughts and self-strivings, in the light that did discover, and dwell in the judgment that we received therein; and by them our understandings were informed, and we got to some degree of stayedness in our minds, which before had been as the troubled sea; and a hope began to appear in us, and we met together often, and waited to see the salvation of God which we had often heard of, that he would work by his own power; and after we had met together for some time as we had seasons and opportunities, and also fought the Lord with travailing spirits both night and day, when we were at our callings and upon our beds, being in our assemblies exercised in the living judgment that sprung in the light in our souls, and looking for the salvation of God, the wonderful power from on high was revealed amongst us, and many hearts reached therewith, and melted and broken; and great dread and trembling fell upon many, and the very chains of death were broken thereby, and the promises of the Lord spoken of by Isaiah the prophet, xlix. 9. and

xlii. 7. and lxi. 1, 2; 3. were fulfilled unto many, and a heavenly gladness entered the hearts of many, who in the joy of their hearts broke forth in praises unto the Lord. The same Comforter our blessed Lord had promised, John xiv. being now come and received, did teach us to know the Father and the Son. Then were our hearts inclined to hearken unto the Lord, and our ears, which he had opened to hear, were bent to hear what the Spirit's teaching was, and what he said unto the church, who was the chief shepherd and bishop of the soul, and thus were we gathered into a right gospel exercise and gospel worship; and worshipped God who is a Spirit, in the spirit received from him according to Christ's appointment, John iv. 24. and then we came to see over all the worships in the world, which were set up either by imitation or man's invention, and saw it to be in vain to worship God and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, as our Lord had said, Mat. xv. 9. and therefore we were constrained to withdraw from them, and also many of us to go and bear witness against them in their invented and traditional worships, where they were ignorant of the life and power of God; and growing into experiencee of the goodness of the Lord, and of the sweetness, glory, and excellency of his power in our assemblies, we grew in strength and zeal for our meetings more and more and valued the benefit thereof more than any worldly gain: and thus continuing, we grew more and more into an understanding of divine things and heavenly mysteries, through the openings of the power that was daily amongst us, and wrought sweetly in our hearts, which still united us more and more unto God, and knit us together in the perfect bond of love, of fellowship and membership; so that we became a body compact, made up of many members, whereof Christ himself became the head, who was with us and did rule over us, and so further gave gifts unto us, by

which we came to be enlarged and further opened, that we might answer the end for which he had raised us up, and so far blessed and sanctified us through his word that dwelt in our souls ; and many through the favour of God grew in their gifts, and had their mouths opened, and became instruments in the Lord's hand to bear witness unto the world of the day of the Lord that was broken forth again, even of the great and notable day that Joel prophesied of, and Peter bore witness unto.'

So far J. Burnyeat concerned himself : let us now hear what testimony the brethren have given of him.

' He was (say they) a man of an excellent spirit and deep experience in the things of God and mysteries of his heavenly kingdom, which were abundantly made manifest unto him, and it was his delight to be meditating therein, whereby his experience was daily increased unto the last. He was always careful to wait for the motion of the word, and to keep close to it, whereby he grew in his gift. He was an early comer to meetings, and a diligent waiter therein. Many times he would sit a pretty while in silence (not being forward to speak), reverently waiting upon the openings of the heavenly life (like the good householder spoken of), to bring forth of his treasury things both new and old ; and indeed he was a blessed instrument in the hand of the Lord for the conviction and conversion of many. He was deep and large in his gift, administering something that was suitable to every state ; in judgment sound, free in utterance, zealous for holiness, severe against unsound and dividing spirits, most tender to penitents and returning prodigals, affectionate to the brethren ; of a grave and steady temper, yet sweet ; hardy in his constitution, unwearied and undaunted in mind ; a skilful marksman, whose bow abode in strength, and wisdom was given him to direct his arrows to the very mark ;

so that the sturdy were wounded, the meek were comforted, and the tender in spirit refreshed ; and yet, although he was thus eminently gifted, he would condescend to the weak capacities of all, to reach to the good in all. He was not without honour, even in his own country ; for when at any time he came to Cumberland, where he was born and educated, his neighbours would abundantly flock to the meeting to hear him ; yet he was far from glorying in his gift, or desiring to be popular, but would rather restrain such who would applaud him, having self in no reputation. He did greatly delight to read the holy scriptures, and often advised Friends, especially the youth, to read them and other books treating of the true principles of the Christian religion, that none might be ignorant thereof. He was of a grave and becoming behaviour ; his blameless deportment and conversation preached wherever he came. He would often visit the sick and those that were in distress or affliction, as well the poor as the rich, and would freely administer of his outward substance to these that stood in need of it, as well as spiritual comfort and refreshment.

He spent his time chiefly, if not altogether, in the Lord's work and service, visiting Friends up and down in England, Wales, Scotland, Barbadoes, New-England, Long and Rhode Island, New-York, and New-Jersey ; but in Ireland in a more peculiar manner, both at his first entrance upon his ministry, and also of later years : for he married, and chiefly resided in Ireland about seven years before his decease. He was very valiant for truth, not only in preaching, but suffering for it ; and at first, he with many faithful brethren, underwent many dangers and hardships, Ireland not being fully inhabited, so that he was many times exposed to great dangers, by waters, cold, hunger, and in prison often, besides other great abuses he received for his testimony's sake.

The like may be said concerning his travels in New-England, with the islands and wilderness places where he accompanied G. Fox, and was wonderfully preserved through all those perils. He was a valiant in Israel, who never shrunk in the times of the greatest trials, sufferings, and storms of persecution; and whereas in the year 1688, his wife being deceased, he had intended to have returned from Ireland to Cumberland, the wars and troubles approaching, he had not freedom in himself to go, but voluntarily gave himself up to stay here with Friends to take part of what sufferings might happen; and indeed he was a blessed instrument in the hand of the Lord for the strengthening and comforting of his people in those suffering and calamitous times. It is particularly recorded of him, that in the year 1690, in his visit to Friends meetings, at a publick province-meeting, he delivered the following remarkable prophetick warning, viz. "It is now a time of great trial upon you in losing what you have: but the time will come when you will be as greatly tried with getting wealth;" which was soon after accomplished.

Besides a journal of his life he also published some small controversial pieces annexed thereunto, concerning the resurrection, imputative righteousness, perfection, tithes, the call of the ministry, baptism, the supper, &c. He laid down his head in peace with God and love to his people, and good-will to all mankind, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried at New-Garden, being accompanied by many ancient friends and others, where his eminent and faithful services were commemorated by William Edmundson.

THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE CALLED
QUAKERS,
IN
IRELAND.

CHAPTER III.

From the end of the troubles under King James the Second, to the passing the Act of Parliament for registering the meeting-houses of Friends, in common with those of other dissenters, under the reign of King George the First, in the year 1719. Great plenty succeeding the late times of devastation and scarcity, faithful warnings are given against the spiritual danger thereon attending. The eminent zeal of faithful Friends of those days against the inordinate pursuit of worldly riches. Their zeal and prudence in the prosecution of Christian discipline. Some progress in propagating the gospel in the province of Connaught. The characters of divers ministers and elders, deceased.

IT is observable, that whereas this year, 1692, there had been some application made to the parliament in England, in order that the solemn declaration of the people called Quakers might be accepted in stead of an oath, an epistle of caution was sent in behalf of friends of this nation to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, desiring that only the form of Christ's own words, Yea and Nay, might be kept to if possible; so

that nothing might be accepted of, that might bring a snare or burthen upon any tender conscientious person; and recommending patience, and to wait God's time, to open a clear and free way for his true and tender-hearted people to assert the truth.

Besides other ministering friends who visited this nation this year, 1693, was Thomas Rudd, who travelled through most parts of the nation, not only where friends were settled, but also in several other parts; and he preached repentance through the streets, and in the publick places of most towns he came into, travelling as far as Galway and Sligo, at the first of which places he was imprisoned, as also at Cork.

Now after the troubles, and great spoil and scarcity above-mentioned, there suddenly succeeded a time of great plenty after a wonderful manner, beyond what could be expected; and stock and trade increased mightily, and the time of getting great riches came on, as the time of great losses had been experienced before, and many too eagerly pursued them; and too many of our society were concerned therein, which has proved very injurious upon several accounts, and especially to friends' children; who perceiving their parents fullness, and relying thereupon, grew conceited and finical; many of them giving way to idleness, and too many parents indulging them, as also gratifying the vain mind that goes after the fashions of the world; and for want of timely care, some grew so hardy that their parents could not deal with them; and these things greatly added to the exercises of the sincere, and great endeavours were used to put a stop to this eager pursuit after the things of this world, in such a day of great ease as this was, suddenly succeeding the many sufferings which friends had formerly undergone: and as this spirit of eagerness predominated, as though it would choke all that was good, like the tares, and bring a damp upon the sense of truth in the hearts of friends,

and so make them forget the eminent care and providence of God over them, in giving them their lives for a prey, through all those calamities ; the Lord in his mercy, in order to preserve us, and prevent this evil design of the enemy, raised up by his Holy Spirit a fervent zeal and courage in many of his servants, to stand against this insatiable spirit, and was mouth and wisdom to them ; and so from men and women's meetings many admonitions, exhortations, and warnings, both in word and writing, were sent forth to the body of friends to keep close to the truth, and within the limits thereof ; and the Lord wonderfully accompanied friends in that service, with his power and presence, to great satisfaction and confirmation, and opened to them many ways to stop the progress of that spirit, for the preservation of one another, which wrought to good effect.

In 1694, John Banks visited this nation in the work of the ministry, and in one of his epistles recorded in his journal, is the following remark :

‘ The Lord hath here a blessed zealous people for his name and truth, filled with love to his servants, largely manifested to us, in accompanying us from one meeting to another, from ten to twenty and above in company at one time, the length of twenty-five miles, even in the time of harvest ; and three travelled from Dublin with us above one hundred miles.’

It was observed at the Third month national meeting, in 1695, that no one friend was a prisoner through the nation, friends having gained a pretty good esteem among those in authority.

This year, 1696, the government of England favoured friends there, so far as to prescribe for them a declaration to be made, or signed by them, instead of an oath ; which although not universally satisfactory

to friends of this nation, nor to many of the brethren in England, by reason of the sacred name of the Lord being mentioned therein, this dissatisfaction however never proceeded to an open division ; but the spirit of true Christian charity and mutual forbearance towards one another, under different sentiments, shone forth, particularly in the yearly meeting of London, and a happy harmony was established among friends of both nations, and an unanimous resolution taken, to solicit the government, when Providence should open the way, for the granting an affirmation easy to all ; in which that friends of this nation were not inactive, we shall see hereafter, particularly in the years 1711 and 1721.

This year (1696) died Deborah Sandham of Youghall, wife of Robert Sandham, of whom account hath been given before, who had a sound and weighty testimony for God's truth : she was a pattern of righteousness, humility and self-denial. She survived her husband about twenty years, and carefully trained up her children in the fear of God, watching over them and her servants in love, and the Lord was pleased to bless her labour and care therein. She was of a tender spirit, not hasty to censure any hardly ; was loth to hurt the good, and yet would condemn the evil ; and if she heard of any nigh her professing truth that had done amiss, it was her godly care to visit them in love, and admonish them ; she was a mother in the church, and her love and care over God's heritage was great ; she departed this natural life with sweetness and comfort, having this testimony to bear on her death-bed, that truth had been her chief treasure.

Among other friends who visited the nation this year was John Gratton, an able minister of the gospel, who in his journal has left this testimony concerning the friends of Ireland, that ‘ There was great love, peace and concord among them, and good order and

government in a careful oversight of the flock, that friends be careful in all respects to keep their profession without blame, and particularly that none run inordinately after the world, or break in other men's debts.'

In 1698, we have also a remarkable testimony concerning the zeal of friends of this nation, in prosecuting a strict and close discipline, from the men's meeting of Bristol, in an epistle of theirs to the national meeting here, in these words:

' Your love to the holy cross of our Lord Jesus, and your zeal for promoting the way thereof, by a strict and close discipline, is that which is much wanted in many places; and though ignorant and malicious spirits may, (as they have done) carp at it, and cry out against it as an imposition on conscience, God Almighty hath blocked up their way, and spoiled the spoiler, and manifested their folly to all, the necessity of a holy care in the church of Christ more and more daily appearing.'

This year (1698) William Penn among others visited this nation; and some time after his arrival, John Plympton, a certain tenacious Baptist disputant, published a paper, intituled, 'A Quaker no Christian:' to which William Penn replied under the title of, 'The Quaker a Christian;' and in order the more effectually to wipe off that adversary's aspersions, he also wrote and dispersed a paper intituled, 'Gospel-Truths held by the people called Quakers,' subscribed by himself, Thomas Story, Anthony Sharp, and George Rooke, at Dublin; which may be seen in the second volume of William Penn's Works,* with the bishop of Cork's exceptions to it, and William Penn's answer. After this, he travelled to other parts of this nation in the work of the ministry, to the edification of the churches; of which, because he has given some

* In two Vols. Folio, 1726.

account, in an epistle from hence to the yearly-meeting at London, signed by himself and his two fellow-labourers, as likewise a remarkable testimony concerning the friends of Ireland: here follows a copy of it from his works, viz.

To the Yearly-Meeting at London.

‘ Dear Friends and Brethren,

‘ It is not the least of our exercises, that we are thus far outwardly separated from you, at this time of your holy and blessed solemnity; but because we have good reason to believe it is in the will of God, we humbly submit to his ordering hand, and with open arms of deep and tender love, embrace you our living and loving brethren, who are given up to serve the Lord in your generation, and that have long preferred Jerusalem, and the peace and prosperity of her borders, above your chiefest joy. The salutation of our endeared brotherly love in Christ Jesus is unto you, desiring that he may richly appear among you in power, wisdom, and love, to guide your judgments and influence your spirits, in this weighty and anniversary assembly; that so nothing may appear or have place among you, but what singly seeks the honour of the Lord, the exaltation of his truth, and the peace and establishment of his heritage. For this, brethren, you and we know has been the aim, end, and practice of those whom the Lord hath made willing to forsake and give up all for his name’s sake; and through various exercises and tribulations, yea in the way of the daily cross, and through the fight and baptism of many afflictions, to have their conversation and sojourning here below upon the earth, in fear and love, looking for their reward in the heavens that shall never pass away; who have not been lifted up by good reports, nor cast down by evil report, from their love to the Lord and his pre-

cious truth, but hold on their way; whose hands being clean of evil things towards all men, have waxed stronger and stronger in the Lord. Wherefore dear brethren, let us all be found in the same steps, and walking the same way, not being high-minded, but fearing to the end, that we may serve our generation in diligence and faithfulness, and so enter into the rest that God hath reserved for his true travellers and labourers in his vineyard.

‘ And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord hath brought us well into this kingdom of Ireland, and given us many large and blessed opportunities in several parts; meetings being crowded by people of all ranks and persuasions, especially at Dublin, who, for ought we have heard, have given the truth a good report; and indeed the Lord has mightily appeared for his own name, and owned us with a more than ordinary presence, suitable to the occasions, and made very heavy and hard things easy to us, because of the glory of his power, with which he assisted us in our needful times, for which our souls bow before him, and bless, reverence and praise his holy and worthy name. So that, dear brethren, we have good tidings to give you of truth’s prosperity at large, and more especially in the churches, having had the comfort of the general meeting of this nation, consisting of many weighty brethren and sisters, from all parts thereof, which was held in the city of Dublin in much love, peace and unity for several days, wherein we had occasion to observe their commendable care for the prosperity of the blessed truth, in all the branches of its holy testimony, both in the general and in the particular, improving the good order practised among the churches of Christ in our nation.

‘ Indeed their simplicity, gravity, and coolness, in managing their church affairs; their diligence in meetings both for worship and business; their dispatch in ending differences, and expedients to prevent

them ; but especially their zeal against covetousness and indifference in truth's service, and exemplary care to discourage immoderate concern in pursuit of things of this life, and to excite friends to do good with what they have, very greatly comforted us, and in the sweet and blessed power of Christ Jesus the meeting ended, and friends departed. The Lord grant that you may also see of the travail of your souls, and end of your labour and service of love, who seek not your own things, but the things of Jesus Christ in this your solemn general meeting.

‘ And, dear brethren, we must tell you, here is room enough for true labourers in God’s vineyard, and cannot well forbear to recommend the service of truth in this nation, to your serious consideration, if happily the Lord may put it into the hearts of any faithful and weighty brethren, to visit it in the word of eternal life ; for we can not but say, the harvest appears to us to be great, and the labourers in comparison but a few. So in that love which many waters cannot quench, nor distance wear out of our remembrances, and in which we desire to be remembered of you to the Lord of our household, we dearly and tenderly salute you, and remain

‘ Your loving and faithful brethren,

William Penn.
John Everott.
Thomas Story.

Lambstowne, 2d of the Fourth month, 1698.

William Penn also sent the following epistle to friends of this nation, after his return to England.

Bristol, 13th of the Eighth Month, 1698.

My dear Friends, Brethren, and Sisters of the nation of Ireland.

‘ Much beloved in the Lord, and often remembered for his name’s sake since I saw your faces, and though absent in body, yet present with you in spirit.

‘ Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be increased amongst you ; and it will be increased, my dear friends, amongst you, as you increase in your faithfulness to that blessed testimony which the Lord hath given you to bear ; for faithfulness is the only way to fruitfulness (and where any are slack and short they will not be fruitful to the Lord), wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, keep close to him, and in his blessed light walk, where you have a right judgment of yourselves and others, and may see what is amiss or short, or contrary to the truth, and your call and station in it ; that so every one of you knowing your membership, and place in the body, may, while you have a day and time, answer it to the Lord and his church ; for this world, my dear friends, is but a trial and pilgrimage, in order to another ; for this is not the place of our rest, and therefore let us not take up our rest in fading things, but let the Lord be our rest, who is the everlasting sabbath of his ransomed people. O my heart is overcome in the sense of his goodness to us all every way. O how has he worked for us ! Should we not then work for him while we have day to work, and lay ourselves out for his glory, which is the way for us to lay up treasure in heaven for ourselves ? Wherefore, my dear friends, brethren, and sisters, be you encouraged to double your diligence for the Lord, his truth and church, and let the concern of its prosperity come more and more upon you, in

your respective places of abode, that you may shine as lights and heavenly examples amongst your neighbours and country folk, yea to the poor dark natives ; that it may appear to all that you have been with Jesus, and that Jesus is with you ; for though it be a time of peace with you, I tell you, brethren, it is a time of great trial ; your enemy is the same, though his temptations are not, and thereby he hopes to get ground upon you, having transformed his appearance ; but my soul prayeth to the Lord, that you may not be moved from your stedfastness by the enjoyment of those things, the loss of which could not shake you. Now is the time to grow strong in the Lord, and lay up store for a cold winter day, which the Lord may yet suffer to come for the trial of his people, and punishment of evil doers. O, I feel my heart engaged and tenderly drawn forth to you, " flesh of my flesh, and bone of my bone," in the eternal kindred, where I embrace you in the arms of love that is without dissimulation, that love which knows no guile, which many waters cannot quench, nor time or distance wear out of my remembrance ; for it has an everlasting spring. In this I salute you altogether, I hope in your national meeting, however, it is to the family of God, wherever scattered over that country ; and the Lord reside among you, and open his secrets to you, and make you learned in all the learning of the Israelites indeed, the redeemed of God, which is wisdom in a mystery that the world's wisdom cannot reach ; so will you be truly comely and edifying to the body both of elder and younger, fathers and children, all in the line of light, life, and love, sweetly leading and following each other, being fastened together by the cords of charity which keeps the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, where the Lord preserve you all.

‘ Things here, and hereaway, are pretty well (blessed be the Lord), and go forward : they rejoice

in the good account I gave them of your love, zeal, and care (for it is pleasant to the Lord's people to hear well one of another). I find and feel a dark and envious spirit secretly gathering all its strength together to encompass the holy city, both Gog and Magog; but from heaven will deliverance come to all the heavenly minded in the Lord's time; and till then, and ever, his blessed will be done. I could say no more, but a word to the wise may suffice; so my dearly beloved in the Lord, I take my leave of you, and bid you farewell, remaining

‘ Your faithful friend and brother,
‘ in the fellowship of the blessed truth,
‘ William Penn.’

Many friends of the ministry from abroad, visited this nation this year 1699; among whom was Mary Mitchel, who went into sundry public places of worship, and preached repentance in the streets of several towns, calling upon the people to fear the Lord, and turn from the evil of their ways, and declaring that if they did not, the Lord would visit them with his judgments; particularly in the streets of Drogheda, where the mayor of the place committed her to prison, but she was soon enlarged.

A general provincial visit was performed this year; i. e. a visit to every particular monthly meeting in each province, in order to enquire into the state of each meeting, and see how the wholesome admonitions and exhortations given forth had been put in practice; and an account was returned to the national meeting, of the great satisfaction and comfort that attended those concerned in this service, the Lord's good presence attending them; and a condescension appearing in those that were visited, with regard to the advice given them; and particularly friends of Leinster province gave an account, that many had lessened their outward concerns, and denied themselves of the offers of considerable gain and profit, in order to answer

truth's requirings, and friends' labour of love; and that some who had large holdings had accommodated others that wanted small tracts of land, and some offered to do more on that account.

Agreeable hereunto, was the publication of an epistle from the province of Leinster this year (1699) which was dispersed and recommended to the observation of friends; an epistle shewing the spirit and disposition of the faithful elders in those days, and the just conceptions they had of Christian simplicity, moderation, and self-denial; not confining it to certain superfluities in habit and speech, as some have ignorantly or maliciously surmised, but considering it in its due latitude and extent, being truly sensible that the cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches, was as dangerous a snare to the old, as airiness in deportment and the love of other pleasures are to the young; or that the good seed was as effectually hindered from bringing forth fruit in the thorny, as it was in the highway and stony ground in the parable: with me it is also a standing evidence of the true spiritual wisdom and foresight of these men, with regard to the pernicious effects of the unbounded love and pursuit of worldly riches, on the welfare of our Christian society, the truth of which has been abundantly confirmed by the experince of succeeding times.

The epistle is here annexed, whereof two thousand were printed for publick service.

An Epistle to friends, given forth from Leinster province meeting, in Ireland, held at Castledermot the 9th, 10th, and 11th days of the Seventh month, 1698.

"Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him," 1 John, chap. i, 15.

THE PREFACE.

‘ Dear friends,

‘ The following epistle is recommended to be read in the fear of the Lord, in which I doubt not but you will have a sense of the godly care and concern which the Lord hath raised in the minds of some of his faithful elders, for the good and preservation of his heritage. But if there be any amongst ourselves or others, not acquainted with our Christian discipline, who, for want of truly seeing the great danger and hurt that hath attended the professors of Christianity, by unbounded desires, and pursuit after the things of this world, shall censure our Christian care; as if we went about to exercise lordship over one another, or would hinder and limit such industrious and capable persons, who in the fear of God, and in moderation, do improve the creation in general, or their own worldly talents in particular, which God has been pleased to give them; I say, if any shall thus judge of our godly care and endeavours, let all such know they are mistaken, and that no such thing is intended.

‘ But as a people whom the Lord hath made sensible of the many snares that do attend, and the loss some have sustained, by the insatiable desire and too eager pursuit after the lawful things of this world, a concern came upon us, that if possible, we might all come to be limited with the bounds of truth that leads to moderation and content, and to depend more upon that providential hand of the Lord, that will afford us what we stand in need of, than in an inordinate desire to pursue after the gain of this world’s goods.

‘ And now, dear friends and brethren, this brotherly caution arises in my heart for you, who were eye-witnesses and partakers of that wonderful and eminent bowing power and presence of the Lord God, that appeared amongst us at that meeting, that none who were witnesses of the power of the Lord at that time, and

thereby brought into a lively sense and sight of the great danger attending that mind which would be going after covetousness, may in the least give way thereto, or enter into reasoning and consulting with flesh and blood, by which you will lose the sense you then had of that spirit, and be in danger of becoming monuments of God's displeasure. But on the contrary, keep to the guidance and direction of God's Spirit in yourselves, which will limit your desires (to the lawful things of this world) within the bounds of truth: which is the earnest desire of one that desires the good and preservation of all, in that which will tend to the glory of God, and bring everlasting comfort in the end.

‘ Thomas Trafford.’

To all our dear friends and brethren in this nation of Ireland, and elsewhere.

‘ The salutation of our dear love in the Lord Jesus Christ, in tender bowels, flows forth to the whole heritage of God, with fervent desires that all may walk worthy of his great love and fatherly kindness, who hath blessed us in turning us from our iniquities, and brought us to the knowledge of himself, by the blessed light of his dear Son shining in our hearts, and by the evidence of his Holy Spirit confirmed our faith in the unspeakable benefit we have, both in his first and second coming for to suffer for us, in that prepared body, and now in Spirit and glorious power of the Father, to perfect our redemption and salvation, and to reconcile us unto himself, by washing us with the water of regeneration, and sprinkling us with the blood of his covenant, and under his daily cross, which crucifies us to the world, and renews his heavenly image in us, and hath preserved us in all exercises of troubles, temptations, and perils of all sorts, inward and outward, and fed us plentifully with

the wholesome and sound doctrine of his heavenly kingdom, and watered us abundantly from time to time, with the distillations of the showers thereof, flowing from the clouds that he hath prepared and filled with his Holy Spirit, to replenish his husbandry and vineyard with the mysteries of faith and godliness, as the former rain in its season, and the latter rain in its season; and clothed us with religious discipline and gospel order, that no nakedness may be amongst us, but every member of this body which Christ is the head of, may be covered with his righteousness in words and actions, following him (in the daily cross and self denial by faith in him) as lights in the world to the praise, and glory of God. And in order to carry on and perfect this good work for our establishment and his honour, he hath raised and settled, and is raising, instruments according to his blessed promise, that he would give to his people judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning: men fearing God and hating covetousness, gifting them for this great work with his Holy Spirit of counsel, with a sound mind and understanding, and a concern for his honour, and prosperity of his blessed truth amongst men, the enlargement and exalting of the government and kingdom of Christ with all godly diligence, according to the ability and gift of his Holy Spirit, given to them for this work and service for the Lord and his people, as help-meets in government, and overseers and door-keepers of the flock and church of Christ, walking before them as good examples in self-denial, not only to the unlawful things of the world, but to the lawful things; the Lord bounding them in their getting, and ordering them in their management, and disposing thereof, that the flock may follow by their footsteps, as they thus follow Christ.

‘ And, dear friends, you of this nation know, that for several years past there hath been, and yet re-

mains a godly care on the spirits of such whom the Lord hath thus raised and concerned as overseers, that all things might be well in the church of Christ, and that he may present it to the Father as a chaste virgin, without blemish; and on this account much labour of love hath been bestowed at opportunities and seasons, which the Lord hath put into our hands, and have been sanctified to us, the Lord owning his work and us in it, and honouring our assemblies in this service with his powerful, glorious presence, to the overcoming of our hearts with comfort and satisfaction, opening our understandings by the enlargement of his Holy Spirit, in many things absolutely needful to be put in practice, for the preservation of his people out of the snares of the enemy of mankind, which he lays in the world, and baits them with the things of this world. And God hath wonderfully owned and blessed our labours, to our great comfort and encouragement, and the great benefit and satisfaction of many, who give thanks and praises to the Lord for the benefit received, on many accounts, through those close concerns and labours of love for the good of one another, as favours on Mount Sion.

‘ And now that which remains, and chiefly is before us in this service, is to warn and admonish the church of Christ, to beware of the snares of that unwearyed enemy, which he lays in secret, and baits with the lawful things of this world, in this time of ease and great liberty; for his baits are suitable to the times and seasons, to answer the inclination of people’s minds, that go from things that are above, after the things that are below; and it is easy to understand the generality of people are taken in his snares, and carried away after riches, preferment, honour, greatness, and vain-glory in the things of this world, that are uncertain, and soon come to an end: and he is striving to break in upon the people of our society, whom the Lord hath called by his

grace out of the world, to obey and follow him in all things, as lights in the world to his honour. And this enemy of all righteousness hath prevailed on many, that are not so careful and watchful in the light of Christ as they ought to be; and others following their examples to get riches, and be big in the world, invade other mens properties, and fail in their purposes, so sacrifice religion and their own credit, to their greedy desire after gain, and give occasion for men to brand us with the character of covetousness, which causes the truth professed by us, to be evil spoken of, stumbles the minds of some that otherwise might join with us, and hinders the Lord's work of reformation on many accounts, and grieves his good spirit, and wounds the hearts of his faithful servants, that are given up in heart, mind, body, and substance, that the Lord may limit, bound, order and dispose of them and all they have, and hold as stewards under him, that hath all power in heaven and earth, with all due reverence, subjection, and obedience, where our preservation is from the inroads the enemy makes to hinder the progress of the Lord's people, and to make them unfruitful to the Lord as his vineyards, in heavenly and spiritual things; but instead thereof to bring forth wild grapes, briars, thorns, thistles and tares, the fruits of the mind, heart, spirit, and affections that go in their own wills into earthly things, beyond the bounds and limits of the Lord's everlasting truth, which is great provocation for the Lord to curse the ground, and to lay his vineyard waste, which he hath bestowed great labour upon, that it might bring forth good fruit, to the praise, honour, and glory of his great name.

' Now under a due consideration of the great injury and damage the church of Christ hath and doth sustain in our day, by this floating spirit that leads into the lawful things of the world, beyond the bounds of truth, and beyond the use for which they

were created and given of God, a great concern came upon several of us in a spiritual travail, for the honour of God and the preservation of his people, the comeliness, beauty and credit of the unspotted religion professed by us ; and under this godly care and concern the Spirit and power of the Lord mightily appearing with us, and in us, in which the testimony of the Lord Jesus rose in many, as a standard lifted up against the invasions of an enemy, and great labours and endeavours were used to stop this unsatiable spirit that is so eager after earthly things, and yet not willing to be called by the name of covetousness, and to bring it within the bounds and limits of truth. This religious concern being practised from time to time for several years, at such opportunities as the Lord put into our hands to be concerned in church affairs, that nothing might get in or grow which God hath not sowed nor planted, but be plucked up and rooted out in due time ; that the Lord's plant and good seed that he hath planted and sowed, might grow, flourish, and bring forth good fruits in due season, to the honour and glory of the great Husbandman, that the cares of this world and covetousness of riches might not choke it.

' Now we being at our province meeting, before-mentioned, and a great appearance of friends, both men and women, and the mighty power of the Lord amongst us; under a weighty sense thereof the affairs of the church were managed in great unity, peace and concord : and under this heavenly canopy of the Lord's ancient goodness, a weighty concern came upon our spirits, as at other times on the like occasion, concerning the bounds and limits of getting, and the right using, the lawful things of this world ; and how far friends might safely go into them : and much time being spent in church affairs to good purpose and satisfaction, the meeting adjourned till the next day ; and after the meeting for the worship of

God was over, then men friends, and ancient concerned women, met to consider of this weighty matter; and accordingly Friends met and sat down in great silence, retired to the Lord for his aid and counsel, and the Lord was pleased to appear, and his power was great through his Spirit to our comfort; and many hearts were melted before him, because of the weight of his goodness, which bowed all spirits; and many heavenly things were opened in the testimony of Jesus, concerning the bounds and right use of the lawful things of this world, and in the demonstration of the spirit and power of Christ then abounding amongst us, and governing our assembly, and guiding our hearts and understandings, unanimously it was agreed and adjudged, that a competency of the lawful things of this world is sufficient for every one, and is the right bounds, with a due consideration of every one's charge, station, place and service. And that mind which will not be content with this, bears the character of covetousness, and renders such unfit to rule in the church of Christ; and there was an unanimous consent, one by one, to offer up ourselves to the judgment of the province meeting, or other approved elders, as the province meeting shall think fit; if in any thing we do exceed those bounds, that Truth (i.e. Christ) may bound us that hath all power in heaven and earth: and in a subjection one to another in our possessions, holdings, callings, trading, and dealing amongst men, not to be our own judges, or walk in the light of our own eyes, considering the wise man's saying, That every man's cause is good in his own eyes; but his neighbour finds him out, and in the multitude of counsel is safety. Not that we intend to deprive any of the moderate and lawful use of the things of this world, or to take from any man his possessions, or to invade and take away property, but to bring all things into right bounds, and set them in their right places, that

so none may be guilty of the great sin of abusing the Lord's mercies, but might use and enjoy them to his honour; that in so doing they may have his peace and blessing, which indeed is the true comfort of all enjoyments. Thus shall we give evident testimony to the world by our moderation, even in the lawful things, that we are true followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, in a self-denying life. And thus, as help-meets together in the Lord Jesus, we may be as Saviours on mount Sion, building up one another in our most precious faith, and in our heavenly possession in Christ Jesus, over the greedy gain, greatness, and vain-glory of the world, and perishing, fading things thereof, that soon come to an end; and here the rich man will not glory in his riches, but see the danger of them, and not lay hold of opportunities to heap up more, to make himself and posterity great in the world; but rather endeavour to lessen, that with more ease and cheerfulness he may serve God and his generation with what he hath, with all his might, being glad of every opportunity that presents, that he may do good, and be rich in good works, considering he is a steward, and his time uncertain in what he enjoys, and that he must be accountable to the Lord of all, for all things he possesses under him; and, under the like consideration, the mean man will be glad that he is free from many temptations and snares, that the rich in this world are liable to fall into, and pierce themselves with many sorrows and hurtful lusts, and bless the Lord for what he enjoys, not wanting food and raiment, with which he is well content and easy in his mind, that is towards the Lord, and seeks not from place to place, and from one country to another, in a covetous mind to heap up riches, but looks to the Lord with an eye of faith, to receive counsel from him in his undertakings, and dare not go beyond his limits, nor without his countenance; and all murmuring, repining and un-

lief is kept out of the camp. And there will be no craving spirits where the Lord rules, but all in their stations, according to their ability and gifts, endeavour to serve the Lord with all their might and substance, in their places where the lord hath raised them, or ordered them, and may be serviceable; shaking themselves from the dust of the earth, putting on their beautiful garments of the Lord's government, and shining under the discipline thereof, rising over the earth and earthly things in the life and power of Christ, as lights in the world in this glorious day of the Lord, wherein he is staining the glory of the lawful things of this world, and the goodliness thereof, by the brightness of his coming in the glory of his Father's kingdom; and is whipping buyers and sellers out of the temple, that it may be a house for the service of God, which holiness becometh; that he may walk, sup, and make his abode, and the offering of his people may be acceptable to him, when he hath purged away all this dross, tin, and reprobate silver.

‘ Our hearts are deeply affected with the care and kindness of the Lord, for our preservation from the snares of the enemy, which he lays for us in the lawful things of this world, far more dangerous, and we more liable to be taken in them in this time of great ease and liberty, than in the time of persecution and sufferings, to be frightened from our stedfastness in our faith and principles.

‘ And, dear friends, we may well understand that as to our Society, self-denial stands mostly in the lawful things, hoping, by this time of this glorious day, you have overcome the base and unlawful things, and your hearts and minds are cleansed from them by the blood of Christ that sprinkles our hearts from an evil conscience, and washes our bodies with the clean water of regeneration, and renewing of his Holy Spirit. And he that hath done this for us is per-

fecting what is lacking, that he may present us to God the Father faultless, to whom be praises for ever. Amen.

‘ Subscribed, in behalf of the meeting, by

John Pim,	William Edmundson,
George Rooke,	Thomas Trafford,
Thomas Wilson,	Roger Roberts.

POSTSCRIPT.

‘ At the first, when the Lord called and gathered us to be a people, and opened the eyes of our understandings, then we saw the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the wickedness that was in the world ; and a perfect abhorrence was fixed in our hearts against all the wicked, unjust, vain, ungodly, unlawful part of the world in all respects ; and we saw the goodly and most glorious lawful things of the world to be abused : and that many snares and temptations lay in them, and many troubles and dangers of divers kinds ; and we felt the load of them, and that we could not carry them and run the race the Lord had set before us so cheerfully as to win the prize of our salvation ; so that our care was to cast off this great load and burthen of our great and gainful ways of getting riches, and to lessen our concerns therein, to the compass that we might not be chargeable to any in our stations and services required of us, and be ready to answer Christ Jesus our Captain, that called us to follow him in a spiritual warfare, under the discipline of his daily cross and self-denial ; and then the things of this world were of small value with us, so that we might win Christ, and the goodliest things of the world were not near us, so that we might be near the Lord, and the Lord’s truth outbalanced all the world, even the most glorious part of it. Then great trading was a burthen, and great concerns a great trouble ; all needless things, fine houses, rich furni-

ture, and gaudy apparel, was an eye-sore; our eye being single to the Lord, and the inshining of his light in our hearts, which gave us the sight of the knowledge of the glory of God, which so affected our minds, that it stained the glory of all earthly things, and they bore no mastery with us, either in dwelling, eating, drinking, buying, selling, marrying, or giving in marriage; the Lord was the object of our eye, and we all humble and low before him, and self of small repute; ministers and elders in all such cases walking as good examples, that the flock might follow their footsteps as they followed Christ in the daily cross and self-denial in their dwellings, callings, eating, drinking, buying, selling, marrying, and giving in marriage; and this answered the Lord's witness in all consciences, and gave us credit amongst men.

' And as our number increased, it happened that such a spirit came in amongst us, as was amongst the Jews when they came out of Egypt, and this began to look back into the world, and traded with the credit which was not of its own purchasing, and striving to be great in the riches and possessions of this world; and then, great fair buildings in city and country, fine and fashionable furniture, and apparel equivalent, with dainty and voluptuous provision, with rich matches in marriage, with excessive customary uncomely smoking of tobacco, under colour of lawful and serviceable, far wide from the footsteps of the ministers and elders the Lord raised and sent forth into his work and service at the beginning; and far short of the example our Lord and Master Christ Jesus left us, when he was tempted in the wilderness with the offer of all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, and despised them: and Moses that refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and rather chose affliction with the Lord's people, having a regard to the recompence of reward. And the holy apostle writes to the church of Christ,

both fathers, young men, and the children, and advises against the love of the world, and the fashions thereof: and it is working as the old leaven at this very time, to corrupt the heritage of God, and to fill it with briars, thorns, thistles, and tares, and the grapes of the earth to make the Lord reject it, and lay it waste. But the Lord of all our mercies, whose eye hath been over us for good since he gathered us to be a people, and entered into covenant with us, according to his ancient promise, is lifting up his Spirit as a standard against the invasion of this enemy, and is raising up his living word and testimony in the hearts of many, to stand in the gap which this floating, high, worldly, libertine spirit hath made, and that is gone from the footsteps of them that follow Christ as at first, and know him to bound them, and to keep in his bounds; and not in their own will and time lay hold on presentations and opportunities that may offer to get riches, which many have had and refused for truth's sake, and the Lord hath accepted as an offering, and rewarded to their great comfort, and to the praise of his great name.

‘ William Edmundson.’

In the Sixth and Seventh month this year, 1669, W. Edmundson and George Rooke performed a visit to the North, and to Connaught, accompanied by Abel Strettell, Richard Guy, and Henry Ridgeway.

Their first visit was to friends in Ulster, at their Province meeting at Richard Boyes's. Then visiting some particular meetings of friends in that province, they went to preach the gospel in the following places. Near Salter's town at Francis Parsons's they had a large meeting, and many sober people came to hear truth declared there, and seemed to be pretty well satisfied; then at Dungiven was another meeting; these places are both in the county of Londonderry, and there was some convincement about the latter

place: then they went into the county of Donegal, and coming to a place called Raphoe, a bishop's see, and being desirous to have a meeting with the people there, they were much averse to it, and none of them would suffer a meeting in their house, so the meeting was appointed at the market-cross; and the people gathered, and George Rooke stood upon the cross, and declared the way of life to them; and then the priests called the high constable to break up the meeting; but understanding they acted of themselves, and not by any order from the government, the meeting continued about two hours, most of which time was spent in preaching the free gospel of Christ Jesus, and the people were so well affected with truth, that they got a large quiet meeting in the inn where they lodged that evening; and William Edmundson set the power of truth over all hirelings, and the free gospel of Christ Jesus above the tithing priests. The next day they had a meeting in the morning about four miles from thence, and in the afternoon a meeting at Letterkenny, both which were quiet, and in the morning following a parting meeting, where the sweet presence of God was richly enjoyed; and there being three friends that lived about eight miles north of that place, they were advised to keep a meeting there (they being far from friends) the promise of Christ being where two or three meet in his name, that his presence shall be with them; and so a meeting was settled there for the worship of God.

Soon after, they took their journey for Sligo, and came thither the seventh day of the week, and got leave to keep a meeting in the market-house, where many people came the next day and were sober; and then they had a meeting six miles from Sligo at Killloony, where the priest did what he could to hinder and frighten the people from coming, but all in vain, for the meeting was kept to satisfaction; and they not being clear of Sligo went back and had another

meeting there, where was a justice of peace, and many sober people, and the way of eternal life was clearly opened to them, and so they were left without excuse. The next meeting they had was at a place called Carrickdrumrusk, they being mostly British people that lived there, and were very ready to come to the meeting, which was kept in an inn, and a good satisfactory time friends had with them. Then they travelled to Longford, but none would permit a meeting there, so they passed on to the Province meeting at Moat of Granoge, where meeting with friends from several parts, they were comforted in the Lord, and one in another, giving account of their service, and that a door was opened in those remote places to receive truth, and the messengers of it, and the peace and satisfaction they enjoyed from God, the rewarder of his faithful labourers.*

This year (1700) also, William Edmundson and George Rooke performed another visit to several parts of the province of Connaught, being a journey of about 342 miles, of which a particular account may be seen in W. Edmundson's journal.

Barclay's Apology, printed in London, was this year ordered to be distributed among strangers.

This year died James Greenwood and Ann his wife, of Grange in the county of Antrim, a faithful couple, being of one spirit (as well as joined together in the covenant of marriage) wherein they were true help-meets to one another, being endowed with many spiritual gifts and graces, which they, as good stewards, faithfully improved to the honour of the great Giver and the benefit and comfort of his people. They were of such a just and upright conversation, fearing the Lord and eschewing evil, that the truth they professed was honoured by them; their hearts being seasoned by the heavenly grace, so that they were as

* See a further account of this journey in William Edmundson's Journal.

the savoury salt, among those with whom they were conversant, being of a grave and weighty deportment, aiming at the glory of God, and the good of souls in their concerns. They were great lovers of peace and concord in the church, and much concerned for keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. They were strict observers of the apostles exhortation, not to forget to entertain strangers, their house and hearts being open to receive the travelling servants of the Lord: for which service they were well qualified, administering to them spiritual help and assistance, as well as outward entertainment. James being for many years infirm in body, was unable to travel much abroad; but Ann being healthy, both in body and mind, was frequently serviceable at the general meetings of friends, where she appeared in such sweetness and evenness of temper, so savoury, grave, deliberate, and reaching in her expressions, that such as were in the service with her were much strengthened and encouraged, by the excellent fruits of the Divine Spirit that appeared through her, both in doctrine, discipline, and conversation. Her words in her testimony were but few, and not forwardly expressed, she being careful not to run before her guide, but to observe divine conduct, under which her example was a check to forward, and rash appearances; yet she was a nursing mother to the young and tender, a refresher of the weary, an encourager of the distressed, and was so endued with heavenly wisdom, and a taking way of expression and gesture in conference, that even disorderly and obstinate persons were often-times won upon by her. They both died in the same year, in great resignation and assurance of peace with God.

The latter end of this year (1701) king William died, who, during his whole reign, allowed a Christian liberty to tender consciences, the ever memorable act of toleration being passed in his reign, and continued

and confirmed in the reign of queen Ann, by which the several dissenters were exempted from divers penalties to which they had been before liable; and now friends throughout the nation peaceably enjoyed their meetings for the worship of God.

Friends of Dublin suffered little this year (1702) for their testimony against the superstitious observation of days, Thomas Bell, mayor of that city, having put forth a proclamation some time before the day called Christmas-day, forbidding the tumultuous meetings of any men, boys, or apprentices, under pretence of shutting down friends shops; also the seneschal of Thomas-Court and Donore did the like, both which proclamations had, in a great measure, the desired effect of preventing the meeting of the wicked rabble, their hurting friends, breaking windows, &c. as had been usual in former years.

This year a chosen number of friends in Ulster performed a general visit through that province.

This year (1703) also John Page, mayor of the city of Dublin, counsellor William Neave, seneschal of the Liberty of Thomas-Court and Donore, and counsellor Grace, seneschal of Sepulchre's liberty, by seasonably issuing proclamations as aforesaid, as also lieutenant-general Earl, taking care that the soldiers should not be abusive, protected friends of the city from the usual insolence of the rabble, so that they suffered little or nothing for opening their shops, and following their lawful trades and employments, in testimony against the superstitious observation of days; and now little sufferings attended friends, except for their Christian testimony against tithes.

This year (1704), and in the fifty-sixth of his age, died Gershon Boate, having been convinced about 1670, and the twenty-second of his age; and the Lord was pleased to bestow upon him a gift in the ministry, in the exercise of which he was many times fresh and lively, and sometimes travelled both in this

nation and some parts of England, Scotland, and Wales. He was ready and willing to serve truth and friends with all his might, both in travelling with friends in the ministry, and in seeking relief for such as were under sufferings ; and he was a man of such parts and interest, that he seldom missed effecting the matter he took in hand. He was of a quick apprehension, great abilities and courage, and very serviceable to the country on several accounts, and particularly with regard to the Rapparees that infested it ; and was wonderfully preserved through many imminent dangers, from those blood-thirsty men who lay in wait for mischief. By this means he became acceptable to the government, and had an interest among, and a ready access to, persons in power, which however he did not apply to his own promotion, in the profits or honours of this world, but to the advancement of truth and its testimony, and the good of his brethren. He was a true servant of the church, and in its service contracted his last illness, and died in great peace and resignation to the will of God.

Faithful friends at this time (1705) were in good esteem, the government favourable, and magistrates generally moderate.

This year several friends, appointed by a province-meeting in Ulster, performed a general visit through that province.

It seems not unseasonable here to observe, that whereas for several preceding years repeated advices were given, and earnestly recommended, from sundry half-year's meetings, that friends should refrain from the too eager pursuit of great concerns and incumbrances of the world, in order that all might be restrained, if possible, from those things that would hurt them inwardly or outwardly ; although it was a time wherein opportunities seemed to offer for getting riches, by great trades, stocking of farms, &c. yet several disappointments happened to those that took

liberty herein, particularly on occasion of a great decay of trade which ensued on the wars abroad, so that some who fledged and rejected the timely advice and warning given them, suffered great loss, both as to their inward condition and outward affairs ; but such who complied were sensible of the benefit thereof, both with respect to their ease in the things of this world, and their inward peace and satisfaction.

This year died John Clibborn of Moate Granoge, a patient and faithful sufferer for truth's testimony, an open hearted man to entertain friends and serve truth with his outward substance, and very charitable to the poor.

Besides other ministering friends who visited the nation this year (1706), Thomas Rudd from England, landed at Dublin in the Sixth month, and after being at friends meeting there the Sixth day of the week, on the day following, accompanied by our friends Robert Bradshaw and Joseph Gill, both dwellers in the said city, he passed through four or five streets thereof, uttering the following words, viz.
‘ Oh the dreadful and Almighty God will dreadfully plead because of sin ;’ but before he was clear of that service, some officers, by an order from alderman William Gibbons, mayor of the city, brought him before the said mayor, and several other aldermen, and the said two friends went along with him thither ; so a mittimus was written, and they all three were sent to the Wheat-sheaf prison, where they remained close prisoners three days, and then were set at liberty by means of friends application to the mayor, recorder, and some of the aldermen ; and Thomas, being unhealthy of body, went into the country, thereby expecting some benefit, respecting his distemper ; and passing Northward, visited friends meetings in Ulster province, and returned to Dublin ; where, being accompanied by the said two friends, he passed again through the same streets as before, declaring

the former words, and met with no opposition or molestation from the magistrates, and afterwards went into other parts of the country where he had not been. He visited most of friends meetings in the nation, and also had service in the streets of many towns and public places in divers parts thereof:

This year died Anthony Sharp, who was born in Gloucestershire in England, in the year 1642. He was convinced about the year 1665, by the ministry of William Dewsbury, at a meeting in prison at Warwick. He came to settle in Dublin in 1669, and some time after was concerned in a public testimony; and friends in Dublin then being but few, and those exposed to sufferings on the account of tithes, &c. he was very serviceable to them by advice, and appearing before rulers and magistrates on their behalf, wherein his endeavours were often blessed with success, as also by entertaining friends cheerfully at his house. He was an industrious man in the concerns of this life, and having justly acquired the reputation of a wise and honest dealer, his credit among men, and outward substance daily increased, which however did not prove a means of choking the good seed in his heart, he being both a large contributor to the poor, and devoted to serve truth and friends in his generation, both with his substance and understanding. He was a man of an honest, sober, and clean conversation; for although he had occasion to converse with people of various persuasions and tempers, and temptations of divers kinds attended; yet through the goodness of God he was so preserved, that there was no just cause to reproach truth on his behalf, being very careful to avoid needless company keeping, and being leavened* into the spirits of those he conversed with, by too much familiarity; but would take occasion to discourse of the principles

* i.e. Conformed to the Dispositions.

of truth, or some religious subject whereby they might be diverted from those vain discourses that are too frequent in many companies. In his public testimony he was many times zealously concerned for the convincement of strangers, being gifted for that service, having a good understanding, a ready utterance, and a clear way of delivery; and indeed his labour of love in that respect did, through the blessing of God, prove effectual to several. He has left in manuscript several pieces written in defence of truth, against priests and others; particularly on immediate revelation, on the call of a gospel minister, on womens' preaching, baptism, the Lord's supper, &c. He travelled several times through this nation and in England; and in the year 1695, visited Holland, some parts of Germany, and Denmark, and some time after, Scotland, in the work of the ministry; and at length, having been very serviceable among friends for many years, and finished his course, he laid down his head in peace.

This year (1706) several Friends, by appointment of the Province meeting, made a general visit through the province of Ulster, and returned satisfactory accounts of their service.

This year (1707) also several Friends, appointed by the Quarterly meeting of Leinster, performed a visit to the several Monthly meetings of that province to good satisfaction. And in the year 1708, a like general visit was made through the meetings in the province of Munster with good effect.

This year (1708) Joseph Pike published a Treatise on Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which, though ordered to be printed at a national charge, the author chose to do at his own cost.

N. B. It is no new thing, that the church of Christ should flourish under persecution, and, on the other hand, suffer in a time of outward ease and tranquillity; for this has been usually her lot. Accordingly, the

former part of this history is pretty much made up of accounts of the zeal, piety and fervent charity that prevailed among the brethren in times of persecution; on the contrary, the remaining parts of this narrative of the state of the church, in the days of tranquillity and cessation from persecution, will afford but too many instances of the decay of love towards God and one another; and it were doing injustice to the present time to pass by the following observation, viz. That in the year 1708, complaint was made from divers parts of the nation to the Half-year's meeting, of a lukewarm spirit among the professors of truth, and particularly of the want of that true concern and travail of spirit which ought to prevail, in the meetings for the worship of Almighty God; and it appeared to Friends at their National meeting, upon a serious consideration of this complaint and grievance, that it might be very much occasioned through the too great love of, and too eager pursuit after, the things of this world; for which reason the cautions formerly given forth against this evil, in divers minutes, were revived, and the more diligent observance thereof recommended.

About the same time I find there was a weighty concern among Friends, for the regulation of men's and women's meetings, that none might be admitted members thereof, but such who were well inclined and concerned for the prosperity of truth, according to the first institution; * and William Edmundson wrote an epistle this year on this head, which was approved and recommended by the National meeting, and may be seen at the end of his journal.

Among other ministering Friends who visited this nation this year (1709), was James Dickinson, who had a particular warning to Friends and others, of a day of great mortality approaching.

* See the Treatise of Christian Discipline.

This year John Exham, a Friend, aged about eighty years, came from his dwelling at Charleville, in the county of Cork, and visited Friends in their families through most parts of the nation. See a further account of him in the year 1721.

This year (1710) and in the sixtieth of his age, died John Watson of Kilconner in the county of Catherlough. He was convinced about the year 1673, by the ministry of John Burnyeat; when he took up a resolution to be faithful, according to the then present manifestation of his duty given him, notwithstanding its exposing him to some difficulties, and sufferings from his parents and relations, for refusing to join with them in their way of worship, for using the plain language, &c. which was hard to be borne by his father, who with the archdeacon, John Plummer, used their endeavours to reduce him to a compliance with their church-ordinances by persuasion, which proving ineffectual, the archdeacon threatened him with a prison; to which he answered, 'I do not fear it, but will make ready for one,' and accordingly he disposed of some of the land which he held, that he might have less rent and incumbrance lying on him.

In the year 1678, a meeting was settled at his house, which caused the said archdeacon Plummer, and Richard Boyle, bishop of Leighlin and Fernes, to be angry, and soon after he was sued in their court, and taken by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, for refusing to pay one pound sixteen shillings, demanded towards the repairs of the worship-house at Fenagh; but before he was taken to prison, the said Plummer meeting him, spoke with seeming kindness to him, saying, if he would submit to them, and not suffer meetings to be at his house, all should be passed by and forgiven him; which he, for conscience sake refusing to comply with, the said Plummer being enraged, said, 'Take him away to prison; there he

shall lie till he rots ;' and then going away, John Watson called him back, and said he was to tell him that he should not prosper in what he intended against him, which accordingly came to pass ; for although John was sent to prison that day, and closely confined for about six months, he after that, by the favour of John Tench the sheriff, obtained some liberty to go home to his family ; whereat the said Plummer being much displeased, went the week before the ensuing assizes to consult with the bishop, in order to sue the sheriff for granting him that liberty ; but in returning home he was suddenly smote with the loss of the use of his limbs, and continued in that condition for some time before he died, whereupon the suit dropt for that assize, and he lived not to see his design accomplished on the said John Watson, who however continued a prisoner above two years.

He received a gift in the ministry in the year 1676, in the exercise of which he approved himself a faithful steward, and a diligent and zealous labourer, often visiting the meetings of Friends in this nation, as also in England ; and besides attending the meetings in the province of Leinster, to which he belonged, he usually once a year, whilst of ability to travel, visited the meetings of Friends in the other two provinces of Ulster and Munster, and the Lord was pleased to bleſs his concern and labour of love therein, to the convincement of ſome, and edification and comfort of many.* He was also ſerviceable in discipline, being zealous to keep up good order, and that all might walk as becometh the gospel, in an holy and blameleſs conveſation, wherein he was a good example, and careful to rule well his own house. He died in great peace of conscience, and resignation

* Robert Lecky of Kilmainham, accompanying him and Anthony Sharp, in a journey to the north, was convinced, and became a ſerviceable man to the Society.

to the will of God, with the comfort of an assurance that he had finished his day's work in his day.

A general visit was performed, (1711) by Friends appointed by the Province meeting, through the province of Leinster, in order to stir up Friends effectually, to put in practice the several advices that had been from time to time given forth, from national and other meetings.

This year the following Friends were appointed to go over to London, in order to join Friends in England in soliciting the English parliament, for further ease with respect to the affirmation, (see the year 1696 above) and accordingly they went over on that account, viz. Alexander Seaton, John Barcroft, Thomas Duckett, John Boles, Nicholas Harris and Gershon Boate, son of the late Gershon Boate.

And in the year 1712, a treatise concerning oaths, formerly printed at London in the year 1675, was, by order of the Half-year's meeting, reprinted here for a general service, to the number of one thousand.

Among other ministring Friends from abroad, who visited this nation this year, was James Hoskins, who having been here last year, and upon some extraordinary occasion returned to England, landed a second time in Dublin, went from thence northwards, and had meetings among strangers in the counties of Derry and Donegal. At Londonderry he was handled roughly, and put out of the city, nor would they suffer him to have a meeting, yet he had good service in several places thereaway. Afterwards he went into Connaught, accompanied by several Friends from Dublin, and had several meetings in that province among strangers, and without molestation, except at Castlebar, where the people were intimidated from going to the meeting by sir Henry Bingham, the chief man of that place, and justice of the peace, who threatened to send them to the house of correction if they went to the meeting, and by his au-

thority the said James Hoskins was haled out of the meeting, put into bridewell, and kept prisoner there about two days.

This year died that eminent and faithful minister and elder William Edmundson, of whose labours in doctrine and discipline a particular account hath been given in the foregoing part of this history. It seems however not to be superfluous, in this place, to give a short sketch of his distinguishing talents and character.

About the year 1650 he went into the army, and continued a soldier some time under the parliament, in the civil wars in England and Scotland, but being religiously inclined he grew weary of that way of life, the Lord leading him from a carnal to a spiritual warfare; and in the year 1652 he quitted the army and came to Ireland. In the year 1655 he became first concerned to speak a few words in meetings, in fear and humility, being under a jealousy lest a wrong spirit might get entrance to deceive him, under the likeness of an angel of light; but as he abode faithful, he grew in the exercise of his gift, and became an able minister of the gospel, and an instrument in the Lord's hand of converting many to righteousness, in this nation, as also in England and America. He had a great share of natural parts, though but of a mean education, was found in doctrine, plain in preaching, and free from affectation, and was often-times wonderfully enlarged in declaring the mysteries of the kingdom of Christ, as well as the mysterious workings of satan; he had a singular gift in opening and applying the typical part of the law, to the substance in the gospel; he was sharp in his testimony against transgressors, yet tender to the dejected and penitent; he was very often zealously concerned to exhort friends to beware of the love, and too eager pursuit of the riches and greatness of the world, as being the chief engine the enemy of truth had to

hurt us a people ; a truth of great importance, which as it has been abundantly verified among the succeeding professors of the same way, it may be worth while to give a specimen of his sentiments on this head, as a hint not useless to many of us : " I know, (says he, in a letter to a friend, recorded in his journal) that the eagerness after the lawful things of this world, at this time, hinders many friends growth in the precious truth, and their service to it in their day, though otherwise of great parts and abilities to do much service for truth on many accounts, as instruments in the hand of God ; but they cannot serve God as they ought to do, and as the day requires, nor please the Captain of our spiritual warfare as good soldiers, whilst they cumber themselves with the things of this world ; and this is the great failure and stumbling-block at this day, and too many of our society are hurt thereby, who have in measure escaped the unclean, unjust and unlawful things of this world, and washed their garments from the spots thereof, and so bear the name of virgins, but sit down in the dust, in the lawful things of this world, without a due consideration and true regard of the right use and service of them in the creation, and to the bounds and limits of truth, in the getting and using of them in their places and services, and so (as the foolish virgins) want the oil that would make their lamps burn and their lights shine ; on which account great danger doth appear, that many, as the foolish virgins, will be shut out of the bridegroom's chamber, when those that are ready, who have shaken themselves from the dust and put on their beautiful garments, having oil in their lamps, and arising in the brightness of this glorious day of the Lord, having their affections set on things above, where Christ is, and not on things that be upon the earth, enter with Christ into the wedding chamber."

He was a most zealous and faithful labourer in the exercise of his gift, for the edification of the churches both at home and abroad ; he went to America on this account three times (where he pursued his journey and the work before him, oftentimes in imminent danger of his natural life, committing it to God that gave it) first in the year 1671, in company with George Fox and others, then in 1675, and lastly in 1683, where he had great and good service both in the ministry of the word, and in settling meetings for Christian discipline ; of which meetings, as well as those for worship, he was a most constant attender, and frequently had meetings among friends and strangers in divers remote parts of this kingdom, and in England ; often travelling in the service of the gospel in great bodily weakness and pain, supported by faith, when natural ability failed, even to extreme old age ; so that in the 83d year of his age he travelled on this account. He had an excellent gift in prayer and supplication, so that his appearance, when under the performance of that part of divine worship, was with that dread and awfulness upon his spirit, that it made a great impression on the spirit of friends, causing tenderness many times to come over the meeting.

It is hard to say, whether he was more eminent in doctrine or in discipline : for the latter he was eminently gifted, gladly joining with George Fox and others, in settling men's and women's meetings through this nation, and when settled, he was a zealous labourer in them ; a faithful elder, worthy of double honour, the care of the churches being much upon him ; particularly, he was greatly concerned that none should be admitted members of such meetings, but those who were of clean and orderly conversations, walking as examples to the flock, having a concern upon their minds for the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth ; and many times he had

good service in such meetings, in clearly declaring the necessary qualifications of such ; beginning at those whom the Lord put his spirit upon to assist Moses, who were men fearing God and hating covetousness ; and going through the law and the prophets, and the doctrines delivered by Christ, as also the discipline and order of the primitive church coming out of the wilderness ; that the authority of truth might be kept up in these meetings, and the members thereof be faithful men, so that justice and true judgment might be maintained in all those meetings without respect of persons, and judgment be placed upon all disorderly and unruly persons ; that God's house might be kept clean, which holiness becomes for ever.

He had a great share in bearing the burthen in the heat of the day, which he cheerfully underwent, and was endued with valour and courage, suitable to the work it pleased God to call him unto, in the times of the sufferings of friends in this nation.

He was of a solid and grave countenance and deportment, striking an awe over the wicked, light and airy ; a reprobate of and terror to evil doers, yet an encourager of those who did well, but with prudence, so that none might be lifted up thereby. He did not seek after popularity, but was rather shy, not intimate with any he had not trial and true knowledge of, nor willing to lay hands suddenly on any but those he found to be faithful.

He was temperate in eating and drinking, his discourse weighty, and mostly on the things of God, tending to edification and instruction ; a careful and tender father, [if he erred on either hand, it was rather on that of austerity than indulgence] a firm friend and kind neighbour, given to hospitality ; and notwithstanding the great charge he was frequently at, in his travels in the work of the ministry, yet he was exemplarily liberal in collections for the poor ; &c, and, although it was often his lot to be separated

from those dear enjoyments of wife and children, for the gospel's sake, he ordered his temporal affairs with discretion, so that there might be no want in his family, in his absence, of either commendable employment or necessaries. A man of a truly publick, Christian spirit, frequently and successfully concerned in applying to those in authority, for the relief of suffering brethren, as well as other suffering Protestants, in the time of the troubles in Ireland, A. D. 1689; being zealous to make use of the influence he had with the government, for the publick good.

He has left behind him a journal of his own life, to which are annexed several epistles, and a letter of examination to all such who have assumed the place of shepherds, herdsmen and overseers of the flocks, of people of all sorts, in Christendom, to see if their accounts be ready, and what order their flocks are in, with a few lines of good news to the several flocks, dated from Jamaica, A. D. 1672, as also a paper concerning offerings to God in prayer and supplication, which is here inserted from his journal, and recommended to the observation of those whom it concerns, viz.

“ The offerings, that are acceptable to God, must be offered in righteousness, and with clean hearts and lips, for the Lord is pure and holy, and will be sanctified of all that come near him, and his worship is in spirit and in truth; wherefore prayer, supplication, and addresses to God being a special part of his worship, must be performed in spirit and truth, with a right understanding, seasoned with grace, and with the word of God, even as the sacrifices under the old covenant were to be brought and offered in clean vessels, seasoned with salt and with fire: so all, now under the new covenant, who approach so nigh to God, as to offer an offering in prayer, must have

their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and their bodies washed in clean water, and sanctified with the word of God, and their senses seasoned with his grace and spirit in divine understanding, and must offer that which is sound and pertinent, which the spirit makes known to be needful, whose intercession is acceptable, as a sweet smelling sacrifice in the nostrils of God, and a favour of life unto life, and of death unto death, though in sighs, groans, or few words, being found, pithy, and fervent. For the Lord knows the mind of the spirit, that makes intercession to him, who hears and graciously answers." Lev. xxi. 6. xxii. 20, 32. Deut. xxxiii. 19. Psalm lxxiii. 13. Mark ix. 49, 50. Lev. ii. 13. Heb. x. 22. Rom. viii. 26, 27.

" And now all are to be careful, both what and how they offer to God, who will be sanctified of all that come near him, and is a consuming fire, who consumed Nadab and Abihu that offered strange fire, though they were of the high priest's line. And there may be now offerings in prayer and supplication, in long repetitions of many words; in the openings of some divine illuminations, with a mixture of heat and passion of the mind, and zeal beyond knowledge, and in this heat, passion and forward zeal, run on into many needless words and long repetitions, and sometimes out of supplication into declaration, as though the Lord wanted information; such want the divine understanding, and go from the bounds and limits of the spirit, and will of God, offer what comes to hand, (like that forced offering of king Saul, which Samuel called foolish, and the strange fire and forced offering,) and lavish all out, as if there were no treasury to hold the Lord's treasures, that may open and present to view at times, for their own benefit; so such in the end coming to poverty and want, sit down in the dry and barren ground: wherefore all are to know their treasury, and treasure up

the Lord's openings, and try the spirit by which they offer, that they may know the Lord's tried gold, and not mix it with dross or tin, and know his stamp, heavenly image and superscription; and not counterfeit, waste, or lavish it out, but mind the Lord's directions, who will call all to an account, and give to every one according to their deeds, and all the churches shall know, that he searches the heart and tries the reins." Deut. iv. 24. Lev. x. 1, 2. Heb. xii. 29. 1 Cor. xiv. 17. 1 Sam. xiii. 12, 13. Isa. l. 11. Mat. xii. 35. Rev. iii. 18. ii. 23.

"As under the old covenant, there was the Lord's fire, that was to burn continually on the altar, and received the acceptable offerings: so there was strange fire, which was rejected, and the offering that was offered therein. And now in the new covenant there is a true fervency, heat, and zeal, according to the true knowledge of God, in the spirit and word of life, that dies not out, in which God receives the acceptable offerings: so there is also a wrong heat of spirit, and zeal without true knowledge, that with violence, through the passion of the mind and forwardness of desire, runs into a multitude of needless words and long repetitions, thinking to be heard for much speaking, but is rejected, and is a grief, burthen and trouble to sensible weighty friends, who sit in a divine sense of the teachings and movings of the Lord's good spirit, in which they have salt to favour withal, though the affectionate part in some, who are not so settled in that divine sense, as to distinguish between spirit and spirit, is raised with the flashes of this wrong heat and long repetitions, which augments the trouble of the faithful and sensible, who are concerned for the good and preservation of all." Lev. vi. 13

"We read that the priests of Baal in their offerings were earnest, hot, and fierce, and cut themselves, making "long repetitions from morning until even-

ing, so kept the people in expectation to small purpose ; ” 1 Kings xviii. 26, 28, 29. but Elijah having repaired the Lord’s altar, and prepared his offering, in a few sensible words [pertinent to the matter and service of the day and time] prayed thus in the spirit and power of God, “ Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day, that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord ! hear me, that this people may know, that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their hearts back again, which the Lord heard and answered.” 1 Kings xviii. 36, 37, 38. So here a few sensible words, with a good understanding pertinent to the matter [without needless repetitions] were prevalent with God.

“ And our Saviour Christ Jesus, when he taught his disciples to pray, bade them, “ not be like the hypocrites, or heathen, who used many repetitions, and thought to be heard for their much speaking. Therefore, saith he, be not ye like unto them, for your Father knoweth what things you have need of, before ye ask him.” Mat. vi. 7, 8. And the prayer which he taught, is full of matter, and to the purpose, though comprehended in few words, and all his disciples and apostles are to learn of him, and observe his directions, and not the manner or customs of the heathens and hypocrites, in this weighty matter of approaching nigh unto God with offerings, in prayer and supplication.

“ Our Saviour also left us a good example, written for our learning, when he was under the sense of drinking that cup of sufferings for the sins of all mankind, and to offer to God that great offering for their ransom, he prayed in these words : “ O my Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me, nevertheless not my will, but thine be done.” Luke xxii. 41, 42. And in giving thanks in these words,

"I thank thee, O Father! Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes, even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." Mat. xi. 25, 26. And how many more examples in the Scriptures are on this account, full and pertinent to the matter, comprehended in few words, and not like the heathen in tedious repetitions, who think to be heard for their much speaking. Therefore all who approach unto God with their offerings, are to be watchful and careful, both what and how they offer under this administration of the spirit, and dispensation of the new covenant.

'I have travelled under a deep sense and concern in this matter for some time.

• William Edmundson.'

The 12th of the First Month,
1695.

He also wrote an epistle of advice to friends, which was published in the year 1701, containing wholesome caution against many superfluities then creeping in, with respect to eating, drinking, apparel, furniture, trading and farming; to which he subjoins some admonitory hints relating peculiarly to the women in the exercise of their spiritual gifts, wherein he signifieth, that although in this day that Christ is repairing the tabernacle of David, raising up the ruins thereof, and restoring the church into her ancient order, where the wise hearted and inspired may work for God and their own salvation, men their part, and women their part, by the appointment of Christ the great and wise undertaker; and women inspired with the testimony of Jesus may pray and prophesy; and even such faithful and approved women, who are truly inspired and gifted for the work of the ministry, may, as the Lord moves, go forth and travel in that service with the unity of faithful elders and brethren;

yet, that, as in preparing for the tabernacle of the old covenant, the women had, by the wisdom of God, the easy part, the needle-work allotted to them, being the weaker vessel, and of weaker capacity, although help-meets in their places to the men ; so now, in repairing the tabernacle of the new covenant and restitution of all things, the inspired women have, in general, the easier part of the work allotted to them, (according to the rules and instructions, laid down in holy Scripture, in the second chapter of Titus) suitable to their temper, capacity, and ability, and the men the harder labour in this work, as travelling journies to publish the doctrine of the kingdom of Christ, often attended with hardships, sufferings, perils, and temptations of divers sorts, which in general the hardy temper, capacity, and ability of man is the better adapted unto. Thus does he express himself concerning this matter, telling us, that he has sometimes observed some miscarriages and scandals to have befallen some, for want of a due regard to the bounds and limits appointed by the wisdom of Christ ; not that he was an enemy to womens preaching, as some have insinuated, but tender of the glory of God, and jealous lest at any time they should make an ill use of the evangelical liberty of speaking to edification, exhortation, or comfort, which they enjoy in our Christian society.

To conclude ; this great and good man, having laboured in doctrine and discipline for the good of the church above fifty years, according to the ability given of God, through many troubles, deep exercises, and perils of divers kinds by sea and land in the wilderness, by robbers and blood-thirsty murderers, by open opposers and enemies to truth, and worst of all, by false brethren under the same profession, was made at length to triumph in him in whom he had believed, saying, as he often did in his old age, that the Lord was his song and his strength ; and having

run the Christian race and kept the faith, departed this life in peace with God, unity with his brethren, and good-will to all mankind, in the 85th year of his age, and 57th of his ministry.

The following is a genuine epistle of the said W. E. written in his old age to his friend, and fellow-labourer in the gospel, George Rooke in Dublin, on occasion of an intended journey of theirs to the north of Ireland, from which his sickness appears to have prevented him.

Tenele, —————— 1704.

‘ Dear Friend G. R.

‘ I received thy kind letter per R. S. by which I understand thy purpose in the will of God to visit friends in the North the next week, if the increase of my illness do not let.

‘ Now, dear George, I must take notice of thy care and kindness for and towards me; yet the public service for the Lord and his people must be preferred before all, in which point it is to be doubted many are behind-hand in their day’s work; and as to the present affliction I lie under, it is very uncertain, only to the Lord, which way it may turn, for it hangs in the balance of ups and downs; but through the Lord’s mercies, and friends prayers, my sharp afflictions are mitigated within the compass of my weak abilities, and especially in the night-seasons, which are made something easy, and friends daily visits of love, from several places, is refreshment in the Lord Jesus; and as to that of desiring to see me in Dublin, I can say with a good heart, I am clear of them all, and I hope of the blood of all men in the service of the Lord and my generation; and I well remember when I was at Dublin last, in the public meeting, being filled with the power and spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, in which many heavenly principles were closely spoke to, in the authority of which I told

them, as at many other times, I was clear of all their transgressions, if I should never see them there again; for I have not shunned to declare the whole counsel of the Lord as he was pleased to reveal it to me, and he is still supporting over both the frowns and smiles of the spirits of this world in the testimony of truth and faith of Jesus, which, by the Lord's assistance, I have kept through many oppositions and contradictions of divers kinds: and what have I now to do of my day's work? my outward parts grow feeble, but blessed be the Lord of my abilities, in the main I am as strong as ever, and long and desire before all things to be dissolved from this old, decayed house of clay into my lot of rest, which the Lord hath appointed for me, where all the clamours of the unfaithful to God, and false to their own professed faith and principles, cannot reach me.

' And now, my trusty friend, thou knowest my inclination was to have borne thee company to the North, to visit friends where my first labours in truth's service were, and where my first sufferings were, and to have taken my leave of them in the love of God, and sweet communion and comfort of his holy spirit, as I did with friends of Munster, last at Clonmel, where we had a sweet comfortable parting in that which is over death and the grave; but being put by, I desire my true love in the Lord Jesus Christ may be remembered to all true-hearted, faithful friends and brethren; that they may know I am not afraid of death or the grave; with desires that they may so steer their course, that when the time comes that will overtake all, with comfort of spirit to the praise of God, they may say, " Death, where is thy sting?" and " Grave, where is thy victory?" This is a combat belongs to this warfare: blessed are they that overcome; in order to which the Lord gird you with strength and courage, and with his spirit of wisdom and counsel, and of a sound mind,

that in a noble resolution, in the fear of God, you may stand firm for his testimony in all its branches, as it is received and established.

‘ Dear George, I scribble over this, under great infirmity of body, but hope it will be accepted. My true and hearty love is to thee, in the Lord Jesus Christ, whether in life or death, the will of the Lord be done.

‘ William Edmundson.’

Besides other ministering friends from abroad, Benjamin Holme was here this year, and spent seven months in this visit ; having meetings pretty frequently among strangers, and being instrumental to the convincement of several in this journey.

In some part of his travels he had been accompanied by John Burton, with whom having parted, he went towards Londonderry, accompanied by Patrick Henderson, intending to have had a meeting in that city, which the magistrates would not permit, but dispersed those who came together ; whereupon Benjamin wrote to the magistrates, shewing how disagreeable it was to Christianity thus to treat men who came to call the inhabitants unto repentance : also he and Patrick wrote to the inhabitants of the city in general, reminding them of the late calamities they had been under, and of their forgetfulness of God’s deliverance of them, for which ingratitude, with other provoking sins, the Lord would bring his judgments on them, if they did not timely repent.

After this our said friends had several meetings in that county, and in the county of Donegal, among strangers, as also in the province of Connaught. Benjamin also travelled into Munster twice, and had several meetings among strangers, and from thence passed again, through some parts of Leinster, into Connaught a second time, and had several meetings with the people in that province : he also visited those few

friends that had lately been convinced near Sligo, having a particular concern upon his spirit to strengthen and encourage them to a faithful perseverance in the way of life and peace.

In the Second month, 1713, Benjamin and three other friends, coming to Longford, set up their horses at an inn, desiring of the landlord that they might have a meeting in a room in his house, to which he consenting, they went to invite the people, and acquaint the sovereign; who said he had nothing against their having a meeting, but desired them to acquaint Benjamin Spann of it, who was both a justice of peace and minister of the parish. The friends, considering him as a magistrate, thought it proper to speak to him; accordingly Benjamin Holme, and Benjamin Parvin, went to him and told him, that they had appointed a meeting that day there at their inn; but he, in a furious manner, told them they should have no meeting in that town. B. Holme mildly told him they did not come to ask his leave, but as he was a magistrate, to acquaint him with it, and that he might come to it if he pleased, and pleaded the queen's toleration for liberty of conscience, and so parted for that time. Their landlord hearing of this their success, being somewhat cowardly, said, he durst not by any means let a meeting be held in his house; 'For,' said he, 'Mr. Spann will ruin me.' Whereupon B. Holme and B. Parvin, went to seek for another place, but meeting with the said priest in the street, he attacked them afresh upon the same subject. B. Holme, as before, pleaded the queen's toleration (but the priest, in a furious manner, denied that either man or woman in England or Ireland, could grant a toleration), and desired him to do as he would be done by. The priest said, 'That is no rule for me;' upon which they came to an argument, in which the priest finding himself pinched, called for a constable; but no constable appearing,

he laid hold of B. Holme himself; and, seeing the gaoler near, he commanded him to take him into custody, and the priest led him by one arm, and the gaoler by the other, till they put him into the dungeon; and after using abusive language, the priest also himself laid hold of Benjamin Parvin, and delivered him to the gaoler, who obeyed his orders, and put him also into the same place, where the friends sat together in great peace and sweetness for about six hours; and then the gaoler took them into a room above stairs, where several friendly persons came to see them; and among them one that brought them a discharge from the priest, upon condition they should promise not to come again, nor hold any meeting in or near Longford. They told him they could make no such promise, letting him know that no true minister of Christ was his own master, but must answer the requirings of him that had called him into his work and service; and so they parted, and were locked up that night in the room, where they lay on the boards in their coats and boots. Next day a friendly man, a merchant in the town, sent them a bed; and B. Parvin asked the gaoler, whether he had any thing from the justice but his bare word; he answered, 'No.' B. Parvin told him, he thought he could not lawfully detain them above twenty-four hours without a mittimus, and that then they would demand their liberty. The gaoler said he would go and tell Mr. Spann that, and so he did, and in a short time came again, and said he had a mittimus. They desired a sight of it, and with some intreaty got it, and found the tendency of it to be, 'that whereas they came in contempt of the queen's authority, by force and arms, in a hostile manner, to the terrifying the queen's peaceable subjects, to hold a Quaker's meeting in the borough of Longford,' &c. When they read it, they told the gaoler it was false, and demanded of him where their arms were; and

that it was not they that did contemn the queen's authority, but the priest, who had in the open street, before the crowd of people that gathered about them, denied that either man or woman in England or Ireland, could grant a toleration for liberty of conscience. The gaoler went to the priest and reported to him the conversation they had had; and when he returned to them, he said the priest wished he had never seen them, who in the evening of the same day, sent an order under his hand to the gaoler for their liberty; whereupon the gaoler told them, they were free from their commitment, but he wanted his own and the sheriff's fees. They told him they were innocent prisoners, and therefore they could pay no fees. He said he would forgive them his part, but the sheriff said they should pay their fees, or lie in gaol till they rotted, and commanded the gaoler to turn them into the dungeon again; which he did not, but gave them their liberty two nights, upon their word to return to the gaol if the sheriff did not acquit them, which he did at last without their paying any fees. When B. Holme was set at liberty from his confinement at Longford, he went a second time into Ulster, being accompanied by Alexander Seaton, and they visited divers places in the county of Down, as Dunaghadee, Newton-Clanobuys, Cummer, &c. having large meetings among the Presbyterians, unto whom they were drawn forth, in the love of God, to declare the way of truth. Our said friend B. Holme published this year at Dublin, 'A tender Call and Invitation to all People, to embrace the offers of God's Love, and to break off from those things that provoke him to anger, before the day of their visitation pass over.'

This year (1713) it was proposed to the national meeting by friends of Ulster, that they apprehended it might be of service to publish something concerning the universal love of God to mankind, and against

that erroneous principle of absolute predestination to all eternity; and accordingly the chapter in Robert Barclay's Apology, treating on this subject, with a preface to it by John Chambers, was ordered to be reprinted to the number of two thousand, as also two thousand of Alexander Pyott's Apology.

John Hall, of Monktheselden, in the county of Durham, was here this year, and besides visiting friends and others in the three provinces, delivered the following prophetic warning* in several cities,

* As the compiler of this history desires to discharge the part of a faithful historian, and, in the foregoing part of this work, hath related instances of prophetic declarations, which appear to have been visibly accomplished; so he thinks himself obliged also to relate such declarations of this sort, whereof the visible completion hath not as yet appeared; of which kind is this here mentioned, besides several others to the like general purpose, viz. Intimating that God would speedily pour forth his judgments upon the people, for their sins and disobedience: in reference to which it may be observed,

1st. That the ancient Jews, when a prophet had foretold calamities which did not come to pass, made great allowances in their censures of that prophet, in considerations of the great mercies of God: concerning which we may undoubtedly very safely say with the prophet, Lam. iii. 22. "It is of the Lord's mercy that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not." Thus though the prophet Jonah did, by divine direction, denounce destruction on the city of Ninevah, and this within the limited time of forty days; yet, upon their repentance, we read, chap. iii. 10. that "God seeing their works, that they turned from their evil ways, repented of the evil he had said he would do unto them, and he did it not." And, in Genesis xviii. upon the intercession of Abraham with God, on occasion of the denunciation of the destruction of Sodom, God said, "If there shall be found ten righteous persons in the city, I will not destroy it."

2dly. That the "judgments of the Lord are a great deep," Psalm xxxvi. 6. And as to prophecies, even divers of those recorded in holy Scripture, it is no new thing for them to be obscure, it being allowed that many of them have not been understood until they were fulfilled.

3dly. If it be supposed that some of the persons concerned in these declarations might, from their great zeal against sin, conclude that the judgments of God were nearer to be poured out,

towns, and villages in this kingdom, in the Second, Third, and Fourth months of this year, viz.

‘ My friends,

‘ I am come in the dread and fear of the great and Almighty God, to proclaim the great and terrible day of the Lord amongst you, that is come, and coming upon all sin and wickedness. Haste to repentance, I beg it of you, lest the day come upon you at unawares ; and remember that you are this day warned to the salvation of God ; and whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, God will be clear of your blood ; and unto this I am concerned to add, that a terrible and grievous plague God will send into this your land and nation, that shall sweep away thousands of its inhabitants ; they shall lie dead in their houses, and dead in the streets ; there shall scarcely be a people living found willing to bury them, their stench shall be so great. Oh repent and turn from your evil ways, that God may shew you mercy.’

Signed by ‘ John Hall.’

upon an ungrateful and rebellious people, than they really were, this will be no objection against, but an argument for, preserving a record of this sort, even as an instructive lesson of humility, fear, and caution, especially to such who may apprehend themselves authorised to publish any thing concerning the determinations of Providence : which undoubtedly over-rules the various successions of peace and war, plenty and scarcity, sickness and health, dispensed unto nations according to adorable wisdom ; which dispensations, though they may be often very mysterious to short-sighted frail man, and though the punishments due to sinful nations and particular persons, may not be apparently and suddenly inflicted in this life, yet inasmuch as the doctrine of rewards and punishments in a state of futurity, when every man shall be judged according to his works, is now revealed, published, and universally received, it behoves us in the mean time to exercise patience and submission to the divine will, and rest assured that the time hastens when those who “ obey not the gospel of Christ, shall be punished with everlasting destruction,” according to 2 Thess. i. 9.

Accounts were given from Ulster, that there was a great openness to hear truth declared in many places in that province ; and more stirrings in the minds of people to receive truth than for some time past ; and that some were convinced, especially in some parts of the county of Derry, near Dunclaudy, and near Sligo and Scarnegirah ; and that there were a few near Monaghan convinced, who held a meeting for the worship of Almighty God.

Upon a representation and complaint offered from one of the provinces to the National meeting, in the Ninth month this year, that some under our profession are too much captivated with the love of earthly things, and more earnest in the pursuit of the riches and greatness of this world, than of the heavenly treasure that would enrich their souls unto life eternal ; and that, in the present time of outward ease and plenty, there is as much need as ever for friends to be heartily and zealously concerned, against those things that tend to draw into the world, or a liberty from under the cross ; advice and caution was given forth from the said National meeting, that friends, in this day of outward tranquillity, might not be eager in laying hold of opportunities of launching into great things in order to get riches, or to the endangering the properties of others ; and it was desired that every monthly meeting might inspect into these things.

This year died John Chambers, a native of Scotland, who sometimes travelled abroad in the work of the gospel, yet his most continued service and labour was in Dublin, where he resided about sixteen years, the friends of which city have given an ample testimony concerning him to the following purpose :

‘ He was one whom it pleased the Lord to visit very early, in order to prepare and sanctify him as a chosen vessel for his service ; and whilst but a youth,

to endue him with a gift in the ministry ; in which, being faithful, he grew and became skilful in the word of righteousness and mysteries of Christ's kingdom ; and, having a dispensation of the gospel committed to his trust, a necessity was upon him to preach the same in the love of Christ which constrained him thereunto, and he freely ministered of the gift he had received, according to the ability God gave, as a good steward and servant to many for the Lord's sake, labouring for the salvation of souls ; but more particularly, he was zealously concerned that those who had known God's gracious visitation to their souls, might, in an especial manner, beware of an inordinate love and desire after the lawful things of this world, lest thereby the good seed should be hindered from bringing forth fruit to perfection. He was earnest with such who, having been descended of godly parents, that had served the Lord faithfully, and been honourable in his church, were of pretty orderly conversation among men, and had a clean and plain outside, and a form of religion by education, that they should not trust in these things, but be earnestly concerned to seek after God for themselves, that they might witness the washing of regeneration and circumcision of the spirit, that they might be Israelites indeed, Jews inward, and the seed of Abraham by faith in Christ Jesus, and so succeed their parents in the line of righteousness. He was very helpful to friends upon many occasions, having good natural endowments, sanctioned by the inspiration of the Almighty, whereby he was well qualified not only for doctrine, but also for discipline in the church, and to stand in defence of the truth against opposers. He was sharp in reproof to wilful and obstinate sinners, but when any had slipped, through weakness or sudden temptation, and were truly humbled under godly sorrow for the same, he was very tender toward them, in order to their restoration. He

departed this life in peace, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

This year also died Sarah Baker, alias Peyton, born at Dudley in Worcestershire, on whom it pleased the Lord to bestow a gift in the ministry when about the age of twenty-one, in the exercise of which having laboured both at home and in Ireland and America, she afterwards was married to Samuel Baker, an honest friend of the city of Dublin, where she resided for the most part of the remainder of her time, and was very serviceable to truth and friends in many respects; being devoted to the service of God, and a diligent labourer and fellow helper with her brethren in the gospel; and, in the authority of Christ Jesus, who had called her into that service, did freely and frequently, in larger and lesser assemblies, preach and teach the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the redemption that is in his Son Christ Jesus, in whom male and female are one, and, as a faithful mother in Israel, was carefully concerned, not only to feed the babes in Christ, but, as furnished by him, to give unto the household in general a portion of meat in due season, rightly dividing the word of truth committed to her, and speaking the same faithfully, that she might be clear in the sight of God of the blood of all men. She often mourned for Sion's sake, and for the abominations committed in the land, pouring forth fervent supplications unto God the Father, in the name of his beloved Son Christ Jesus, for the prosperity of his church, and tranquillity of the nations; and, as one skilful in lamentation, would invite others thereunto, that both male and female might mourn apart, first for themselves, and then for others. She had also good service in womens meetings, being a diligent follower of good works, in relieving the poor and visiting the sick and afflicted in body or mind. When outward abilities declined, her inward strength was

renewed, and her lamp being trimmed, did burn clearly, through the supply of heavenly oil, to the conclusion of her time; and at her departure she had the comfort of an evidence of peace with the Lord, and that a crown of righteousness was laid up for her.

The Sixth month, this year, died queen Anne, during whose reign friends peaceably enjoyed their meetings for the worship of Almighty God; and now king George, through the good providence of God, succeeded to the throne of these realms, who soon manifested his mild disposition towards Protestant dissenters, so as not in the least to impair the toleration allowed them by law.

Indeed the publick tranquillity was greatly interrupted (1715) by the apprehensions of the destruction and ruin that threatened us, through the rage of some restless people, disaffected to the king and government, who raised a rebellion in Scotland, being animated with expectation of foreign assistance, whose counsels were blasted, and their progress effectually stopped through the mercy of Providence: and as in that time of great affliction Friends were calm in their spirits, and shewed true affection to the Protestant interest, and peace of the nation, it was well accepted by the government, which hath since been demonstrated in several instances, particularly in their exempting us from the penalties we had been liable to, for our conscientious refusal of fighting and swearing, of which hereafter.

In the mean time the following address was drawn up on the above mentioned occasion, and presented;

- To Charles Duke of Grafton, and Henry Earl of Galway, lord's justices, and chief governors of Ireland.
- The humble Address of the People called Quakers, from their National half-year's meeting held in Dublin, the 10th of the Ninth month, 1715.

‘ May it please the lords justices,

‘ The many and great privileges continued unto us under the king's mild and favourable government, and those in authority under him, more especially that we have liberty peaceably to worship Almighty God, according as he hath persuaded our consciences, we esteem great blessings, and lay us under great obligations of humility and thankfulness, first to God and then to the king, for the same.

‘ The king having been pleased to place you chief governors of this kingdom, we take leave, in our plain way, to congratulate you upon your safe arrival here, and to assure you that we are well affected to king George and the present government, and have a just detestation and abhorrence of all conspiracies, plots, and rebellion against the king and government; and that as it hath been our declared principle as well as practice, ever since the Lord called us to be a people, to live peaceably and behave dutifully toward those, whom he hath placed in authority over us, so, by divine assistance, we are resolved, according to our duty, to demean and behave ourselves towards the king, and those in authority under him.

‘ And as we are a people liable to sufferings for our tender consciences towards God, we intreat, that if any such thing should attend us under your administration, you will be pleased favourably to admit us to lay our suffering case before you, in order to seek for redress.

‘ We sincerely pray to Almighty God, that he may endue your hearts with divine wisdom so to govern, that virtue and piety may be encouraged, and the contrary restrained, that so his blessing may attend you here in this life, and eternal happiness in that to come.

Signed in behalf of said meeting, by

George Rook,	Gabriel Clark
John Hoop,	John Dennis
John Barcroft	Jacob Fuller
Nicholas Harris	Thomas Ducket
William Sandwith	Richard Sealy
Thomas Willson	Thomas Lightfoot
Nicholas Lock	Amos Strettell
William Richardson	Eli Crocket.’

This year Thomas Wilson and several other friends, by approbation of the National meeting, went over to attend the service of the Yearly Meeting at London, as usual; and at this time with a particular view to join friends of England, in soliciting further ease with respect to the affirmation, some friends having been great sufferers, by reason they could not make use of the affirmation in the form it then was. (See the year 1696).

Besides other friends of the ministry, Thomas Story, from Pennsylvania, was here this year, who had several meetings, not only among friends, but strangers, and for the most part without interruption, except at Kilkenny, where great opposition was given, as will appear in the following narrative, which, because it also furnishes divers instructive and entertaining remarks, I here insert, as it stands in the said Thomas Story’s journal.

‘ They (at Kilkenny, 1716) had exercised their violence and disturbance upon Elizabeth Jacob once, and

another time upon Margaret Hoare and Abigail Craven, and hindered the meetings; which friends had bore for peace sake, without any complaint to the government; but now they proceeded more violently, for as we were met, according to appointment, on the twenty-seventh of the Twelfth month, 17⁶/₇, about the second hour after noon, and many of the towns people with us, some time after I had stood up, in came Arthur Webb and Robert Shervington, and made disturbance, bidding me to be silent, and the people to disperse. I did not mind them for some time, but went on, till they had so disturbed the meeting that the people were not in a condition to hear, and then I stopped and asked who they were, and by what authority they did that: they answered, they were the church-wardens. I replied, that the church-wardens, as such, had no business with us, or power to hinder us, and desired them to desist, and sit down quietly as others did. They seeing that would not fright us, as they had imagined, then began to speak to particulars of their own fort, threatening them with the bishop's court, and excommunications, and such like frightful things, and began to take some names in writing, which some being afraid of, went out, but the greatest part stayed, and some were much troubled at the spoiling of the meeting, for it had begun well; but the envy of satan, and the pride of ungodly men rising higher, whilst we were at this work, in came one Joseph Worley, one of the mayor's serjeants at mace, and a constable, with a warrant, and I being still standing, and sometimes exhorting the people as well as I could in such disturbance, they bad me come down and go with them, for they had a warrant from a justice of the peace to apprehend me, and disperse the meeting. Then I said, we were well known to be an innocent people, readily subject to government, either actively or passively; but desired them to have a little patience, till I had

cleared myself among the people; and they did not seem very forward to take me away, till some of the superior persecutors towards the door, cried out, ‘How well do you execute your warrant?’ And then they took me and Edward Cowper, Henry Ridgway, and John Harris, away in custody up to the justice’s house, but he would not be seen, being much troubled that he had signed the warrant, it having been ready drawn by Robert Connell, the bishop’s register, and sent to the justice by the bishop, desiring him to sign it, which he had done with great reluctance. They then took us from place to place, to find a justice, but none cared to see us; till at last we were brought before the mayor, and this Connell, who being one of the aldermen, was also a justice of the peace for the city, *ex officio*. They were a little rough, and pretty high upon us, but the Lord, for whose name and cause we were there, kept us over their spirit and power. John Boles, John Lackey, Samuel Watson, Thomas Pim, John Pim, jun. and other friends, continuing the meeting, and many of the people with them; the officers also brought away these friends last named, before the mayor at the same time. They charged us with a riotous and unlawful assembly; I told them, they themselves did not believe it to be a riotous assembly; and there were many witnesses that we were peaceable, till the churchwardens and their officers disturbed us. Then Robert Connell himself confessed we were not making any disturbance, but said it was an unlawful assembly, the act of toleration in England not extending to Ireland. I answered, that act being for the liberty of the subject, extended every where in Ireland, and other countries, where the subjects of England are settled under the crown of England. Then they demanded security for our appearance at the assizes, and for our good behaviour in the mean time. We told them, we were not of ill behaviour, and there-

fore needed not to be bound ; but seeing their wicked design, we all refused ; they then wrote a mittimus, pretending to send us to gaol ; but at last they told us we might go where we pleased ; only they charged us, upon pain of what should follow, not to have any more meetings there, for if we did, they would take more severe measures with us. Then they having a full bottle of wine upon the table, would have given us some, but we all refused it, at which they were angry, and so we left them, and went down to Thomas Dale's at the Swan, where many of us lodged, and pretty many friends being together there after supper, we concluded to have another meeting next morning, and some friends were appointed to give notice to the mayor, some to the justices, some to the soldiers, and some to the people of the town.

‘ 28th. The next morning, about nine, we went to this second meeting, where the people did not gather much till about ten, and I had stood up about half an hour, when in came the same church-wardens, and made the like disturbance as before, taking names, and threatening the people with the bishop's court and excommunication, frightening some, but most did not seem to mind them, and I went on for some time, till also came two of the mayor's serjeants at mace, and constables, and a great mob after them, and they commanded me to be silent, and the meeting to disperse. Some of the meaner sort went out of the house as fast as they could, being fearful ; but many staid to see the issue, and they taking me into custody, I went with them, but they took no other friend. The mayor, this alderman Connell, and some others, being together, I was had before them without any warrant ; they were very angry, and gave me some threatening language. I told them, they were not to insult the king's peaceable subjects, nor exercise their own passions upon them ; but if I had broken any law, I was subject to the law, either

actively or passively, and if they acted without law, they also were punishable by the law. They were very angry still, and the mayor said, I had assembled myself with others, contrary to law, and demanded security for my appearance at the next assizes, the sixteenth of next month, at the city of Kilkenny, and in the mean time to be of good behaviour. Then I said, ‘ What law have you here in Ireland against our meetings ? ’ The mayor said, ‘ There is no law for them here ; ’ then said I, ‘ There is none against them ; and where there is no law, there is no transgression ; and the act of toleration in England gives us, as well as all others the king’s Protestant dissenting subjects, liberty every where in his dominions. Then they wrote a mittimus as followeth, viz.

‘ City of Kilkenny, ss. By John Birch, Esq.
Mayor of the said city, and Robert
Connell, Esq. one of his Majesty’s
Justices of the Peace for the said
city.

‘ We herewith send you the body of Thomas Story, he unlawfully assembling himself with several other persons, and refusing to find sufficient security for his appearance next assizes, and for his good behaviour, and him in safe custody to keep, till thence discharged by due course of law ; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under our hands and seals this twenty-eighth day of February, 1716.

‘ John Birch, Mayor,
‘ Robert Connell.’

‘ To the keeper of his Majesty’s
gaol, of the said city, These.’

‘ Here is a copy also of the warrant, viz.

‘ Com Kilken. et. } fs. ‘ By Ebenezer Warren, Esq.
Com. Civit. Kilken. } one of his Majesty's justices
of the Peace for the said
counties.

‘ Whereas complaint hath been made unto me, that
a set of people called Quakers, are riotously assembled,
these are therefore in his Majesty's name, to will and
require you, and every of you, on sight hereof, to
disperse the said Quakers, and in case of resistance
or refusal, to apprehend the bodies of the several per-
sons so refusing or resisting, and them so apprehended to
bring before me or some other of his majesty's justices
of the peace in the said counties, to be dealt with
according to law, whereof fail not at your peril, and
for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under
my hand and seal this 27th day of February, 1716.

‘ Ebenezer Warren.’

‘ To the several Constables and Officers,
in and through the said Counties.’

‘ This justice Warren having all along in parliament
(for he was a member) been friendly and kind to
friends in all their concerns, and being inadvertently
precipitated into this affair by the bishop, we were
better satisfied that we had this secoud handle to pro-
ceed upon, than to have any occasion for his name in
the contest; and so I was sent to the common gaol of
the town, among thieves in irons, where I stayed not
long in the custody of the gaoler, till Anthony Blunt,
the sheriff of the city, a very civil young man, and
loyal to king George, came to me, and shewed his
resentment sufficiently at their doings; for he not
only called for the mittimus, that we might have a
copy of it (which the gaoler had refused, being an
Irish papist) but left it in my own hand till he re-
turned, going immediately to some of the justices
(Warren for one) to have their opinions and concur.

rence in taking me to his house, which he readily had, and accordingly took me with him, and provided me a very great room in his house, and agreeable accommodations, to the disappointment of that great episcopal envy thus levelled against me. All this I observed to be the Lord's doings, for the furtherance of the gospel and his own glory, and the Lord was with me in a good degree, to my great comfort and only sure help.

‘ On the Sixth and Seventh days came friends from several parts to see me, and many stayed in town till the First-day, being the third of the First month, and in the forenoon we had a meeting in the sheriff’s house, where his wife (a very good-natured sober woman) and family were present, and many of the neighbourhood. We had a good open time, wherein I had an opportunity to expose Antichrist and his ministers, which I am apt to think went to the bishop’s ears, as it did quickly through the town, the people wondering at our boldnes, not knowing our foundation.

‘ 4th. The next day I went to take the air in the late duke of Ormond’s gardens there, and some friends with me, and several people came to us, and among others some French Protestants, and an Irish papist; who seemed friendly, and repeated some verses against such as seemed to be religious, but aimed at nothing but promotion and worldly honour and glory by it. I guessed what he was, and gave him the following lines, which he took on a piece of paper with a pencil :

Natural religion was simple first and plain,
Tales made it myst’ry, offerings made it gain;
Sacrifice and shows were at length prepar’d,
The priests ate roast-beef, and the people star’d.

‘ He seemed pleased with the verses. Then I told him some people’s religion made them worse than their natural temper, which could not be right; for the end of true religion is an improvement upon nature, and restoration from the fall, even in this life, and rendering men more sociable and safe; but that priesthood of many kinds, tending to one evil end, had, as to great part of mankind, eluded all the means hitherto offered for the help of man, and made a prey of him instead of that aid designed; for though there is nothing more plain than religion in its native simplicity, yet the priests, the better to effect their own designs, had invented abundance of lying mysteries to confound and amuse the people, and persuaded them that offerings of many kinds were essentials of religion, which offerings were ever at the priest’s disposal, and for his gain and advantage; and taking advantage of the natural propensity of the people to admire tricks and shows, much of that had been invented to gull the people, setting them a gazing at shows which are of no value, whilst the cunning priests eat up the roast, for they dearly love to have the ruling of it, and in whatsoever they differ, in this they all agree, with feigned words to make merchandize of the people; and how to have them for their own gain, and promotion is the great bone of contention, which will ever continue till the people receive the Lord Jesus, and turn to his light and grace as their true teacher.

‘ In the mean time, as we were at this sort of conversation, in came justice Warren, alderman Haddock, and Clark, the collector of the king’s customs, and some others, and entering into conversation with us, some told them of the verses, and desired me to repeat them, which I did, to their satisfaction; and by degrees they fell to discourse upon my confinement, which they all did with considerable resentment, and some of them observed that, to make a show now after the people had talked so broad in the streets,

the mayor, and that party, had shut up the mass-houses, which before had been connived at; and also how angry they were with our meeting the day before, but could not help themselves, since I being a prisoner, could not be hindered from speaking to such as came to me: and very friendly they were.

‘ In the mean time in came the mayor and alderman Connell in a great chafe, which was heightened to see these persons with me conversing so friendly together. Their business was to persuade justice Warren, alderman Haddock, and whom they could besides, to join with them to send me out of the county, from constable to constable; for I becoming very burthensome to them, they had fallen upon this contrivance to get rid of me; and their power extending no further than the town, they could not send me out of the county, but out of the town only, and then they feared I would come in again immediately, but if out of the county, being some miles, it is probable they imagined I would not take the pains; but in this, instead of helping themselves, they were worse; for as they advanced towards us, I began to speak to these persons with me, above-named, concerning the grounds upon which my adversaries built all this their structure, viz. upon a supposition that the toleration act extended not to Ireland; but I told them they were mistaken, for all men by nature are free, till that freedom is taken away, either by policy or force. Some penal laws then, made by an antichristian policy, and applied by tyrannical force, having obstructed the liberty of the subjects of England for a time, yet that liberty was not destroyed, but that force being removed, liberty revived, and turned into her natural channel; for there are many statute laws in England, wherein though there are new forms and clauses of enacting, yet, in reality, are not initiatory of new matter, or new laws, or privileges never before claimed or enjoyed by the

people of right ; but declaratory only of rights and privileges in possession by them and their ancestors before, endangered by evil counsellors to kings and princes, who, for their own advancement in favour, are too frequently the wicked instruments of tyrannical and enslaving counsels, where they meet with any degree of propensity in the tempers of their princes biassing them that way ; and (of like nature is this act of toleration in England) which native rights and privileges all Englishmen carry along with them into all regions of the world, where they settle under the regimen of the crown of England, now upon a very worthy head, who declares for liberty to all his Protestant dissenting subjects throughout his dominions the world over, and that indulgence they now enjoy every where but here. The act of toleration then extends to Ireland, America, and all the king's dominions, being in its nature declaratory, not only of English, but also of gospel liberties, and which we now insist upon against the unjust force of such as oppose themselves here ; and that this is and ever hath been the mind of the king and his predecessors, since that law was made, is plain, by extending that liberty and indulgence here, as likewise to all his English dominions ; and not only thus, but the king hath given us his royal word for his protection, upon several addresses on sundry occasions, and particularly upon one from our last Yearly meeting at London, the twenty-sixth day of the Third month, 1716 ; and another since from our last National meeting at Dublin here in Ireland, to which he was pleased to answer in these words, viz. ' I thank you for the assurance of duty and affection to my person and government contained in this address, and you may always depend upon my protection.' I myself being present with many more when the king received us with this first address in his own bed-chamber : so great was his condescension and regard to his loving and peaceable

subjects. But it seems the mayor and magistrates here think it their interest to insist upon an opinion quite of another nature, at the hazard of what may follow ; for you may assure yourselves, we are as jealous and tenacious both of our gospel and natural liberties, as any body here can be bent to deprive us of them.

' This being finished, the mayor and his party shewed a great deal of rancour, but could not help themselves, and immediately after, the mayor and Connell made application as aforesaid for assistance ; for their envy had made them both mad and blind ; but instead of that, the justice at once refused it, and told them he had done too much of this drudgery for them already, and would do no more, but would leave them to their own measures. This vexed them heartily, and occasioned some more words, which were pretty hot on both sides, till the justice, and the rest that were for the king and indulgence, asked them how they came to connive at so many masses in view, and be so furious upon the king's friends and peaceable subjects. ' And pray, Mr. mayor,' said he, ' what notice have you taken of the seditious sermon you heard yesterday in the afternoon in the little church ? You can hear such with pleasure, whilst you treat these loyal subjects with so much severe usage. Did you, sir, demand that person's notes, and bring him to account for it ?' Said the mayor, ' That was my lord bishop's business, not mine.' ' If that was not your busines, being a matter of religion, pray how comes it to be so much your busines to meddle with these people, who have given you no other occasion but about their religious opinions ; to which they have equal right and liberty with all other his majesty's Protestant dissenting subjects, and are much more useful to the government than some you connive at ; and pray from whom arises the common danger ??'

‘ We, hearing them thus far, and things rising higher and higher, thought best to withdraw and leave them, the dispute turning favourably on our side, and so we did: but in the evening the sheriff told me that they ended in heat; and that the mayor and alderman Connell, finding they could not have any aid of the others, were resolved, as they pretended, to send me out of the town next morning by the constables, and that if I came again, they would put me in the stocks. I told him I did not fear them, let them run the length of their chain; for though they thought to frighten me with their threats, I knew the laws better than they imagined, and that they could not do it, but by illegal violence.

‘ 5th. But the next day the mayor was much cooler, and intending to go out of town the day following, to meet the judges at Wexford (being deputy clerk of the crown), he took up the mittimus, and sent me word by the sheriff, that I was at liberty, and might go when and where I pleased; and said also, that he would not have done what he had done against us but that the clergy, as one man, greatly urged him to it; saying, they had thought him a man for the church, but to find him so remiss in suppressing the Quakers, looked quite otherwise: and added, that for his own part he did not care what meetings we had, but intended to get out of the way of it, and leave alderman Connell in his place (as he ought of course) till he returned, hoping all would be over in his absence.

‘ Upon this message, I told the sheriff that they had committed me publickly by a mittimus till the assizes, as if I had done some heinous crime, and as on the one hand I could not accept of a private discharge, so on the other, this discharge was not legal, which was an indication they were either ignorant or arbitrary; for they ought to have returned their proceedings before the judges, that the matter

might be heard at the assizes ; but in a case of discharge before that, it ought to have been by a *liberate* in writing, under their hands and seals, or of some other justices, and therefore I remained with the sheriff ; which displeased my adversaries worse than before, and heightened their rage.

‘ Many friends visited me from divers places, and on the Seventh day (being the 9th of the First month) came some from neighbouring places, and considering together of a meeting next day, we spoke to the same person about the same place we had before, and he readily granted it. So all was prepared, as seals, &c. and notice was given by some friends, to alderman Connell (now deputy mayor) and the justices, of what we intended, but he said he would disperse us again, and that we should not have any meeting there ; however we went to meeting, and though I had some things in my mind to say in the meeting, before I found the proper time to stand up, one of the church-wardens came, and soon after the mayor’s serjeant at mace, commanding the people to disperse, and the church-wardens took their names, and threatened the people with the bishop’s court. Then I reasoned the case a little with the constables and serjeants, and they seemed troubled that they were put upon using us so, but could not help it, being under authority ; and after awhile I went with them, having first made some remarks on things to the people, and they put me in gaol the second time, where I was hardly well entered, till they brought William Brookfield of Dublin thither also ; for some friends from thence coming to see me, and he among others, and the meeting continuing after they had brought me away, William had stood up to speak, and some of the constables took him down and brought him to us.

‘ We had been in prison but a small time till the sheriff came and took us home to his house, where

the other friends came to us, after the meeting was over, which they held, notwithstanding all the disturbance, till it regularly ended.

‘ But the deputy mayor being come from his worship sent for me before him, and seemed very angry, and asked me how I came to appoint another meeting, being in custody? Then, said the sheriff, ‘ Sir, the gentleman was not in custody, for Mr. Mayor took up the mittimus before he went out of town, and told me he was at liberty, only he would not go out of the town till he himself thought fit, being free, as he apprehends, to go or stay, at his own election.’ Then, said I to the deputy mayor, these proceedings are very arbitrary, what have I done now to deserve imprisonment? ‘ Did not I tell you, sir,’ said he, ‘ that I would disperse you, (for I had met him in the street as we went to meeting) and that you should have no meeting here?’ ‘ It is true,’ said I, ‘ but since there is no law against our meeting, thou hadst no right to say so, nor was I obliged to take notice of it, being without law; but besides, the gospel must be preached, and God must be worshipped according to his own appointment, whoever will make laws to the contrary, or apply an unjust and illegal force to restrain it.’

‘ Then said one of the serjeants to the deputy mayor, ‘ Sir, this gentleman said nothing in the meeting, he was not preaching; and immediately he laid hold on that to get rid of us, (for he wanted his dinner, then staying for him) and said, ‘ I cry mercy, I thought you had,’ and so dismiss me; but before we parted, I told him that although he had used us so ill, I had a secret apology in my mind for him, and yet could not be positive whether he deserved it; and that was, I conjectured that he did not act altogether from a native spring of dislike in his own mind, but as excited by some other person or persons, for some other reasons than perhaps he cared to express or

own ; upon this he told us, he had no enmity against Friends, but had upon occasion forgiven some of them fees (being register of the bishop's court) to the value of seven pounds : and so we were dismift without any further conditions.

' About three in the afternoon we went to meeting again in the same place, and the bishop* hearing of it, and walking in the Tholsel, said to one of the serjeants, if we met again he would have them put us in the stocks till he came from church ; but being sat, many people came to us, and the Lord, who never fails nor forsakes his own, was with us, to our great comfort, whilst envy and rage tormented our enemies. I had something to say, and had gone on some time, the people being greatly desirous to hear, and very still, and satisfied with what they heard, till in came the constables and serjeants again, but so faintly, and with apologies, that they could hardly touch me ; but after some time one of the serjeants named the bishop to be concerned in it, which I laid hold of, and told the people we were not ignorant all this time who was at the bottom, but now they heard plainly it was the bishop ; and after some further remarks, viz. that as our Lord said, " Some of you shall Satan cast into prison," was now fulfilled in us ; for though that evil one could not cast any into prison by himself, as he is a wicked, destroying spirit ; yet as ungodly and wicked persecutors are excited, hurried and instigated to that evil work by Satan, he, as the first mover, is said to do it ; so that they might plainly see on what bottom they were who thus abused us ; and the people (nay even many of the Papists who came thither to hear and see) were generally displeased with them, and the truth reached them through our works and patience, and exposed our enemies to the just censure of all.

* Sir Thomas Vesey.

‘ The serjeants and constables taking me away, many of the people followed, calling out, ‘ Shame,’ and blaming the magistrates, but we desired them to avoid disturbance, that no advantage might be taken. The officers became so troubled and ashamed, that they intreated me to walk up to my lodging, till the church was done, but I told them I was in their custody, and could not go but where they took me, and they went with me to the sheriff’s house, where they expressed their great concern that they should be in offices that subjected them to actions so much against their inclinations; but the meeting continuing after I was brought away, William Brookfield had a good time, in a short testimony among them; and though some constables were there, they stood without as if they had no mind to understand or hear any thing; and the meeting ended in order, and friends were greatly comforted.

‘ In the evening the deputy mayor sent me word by the sheriff, that he would wait on me by and by at my lodging, about that afternoon’s meeting. I replied, that was not so proper; but that if he had any thing more to say, and required it, I would wait on him where he pleased. The sheriff told him what I said, and he sent the sheriff to ask me if I intended to go out of town the next day, and if I did, he had no more to say: but if I did not go out, he would put me out. I replied, that if the mayor had sent to ask me that question without any threats annexed, I would have answered him freely and plainly as to my intent, but was not to be frightened, being at my own liberty to stay or go as I pleased.

‘ This the sheriff told him, and then he made the sheriff take it down in writing, which he did; but told the mayor, he would keep it in his own custody, and accordingly shewed it to me; the mayor, I suppose, thinking to make me afraid by this poor little shift. Then I told the sheriff, I intended to

go out of the town in the morning, to take some meetings in the country, and return thither again at the assizes, the latter end of the week.

‘ Then the sheriff told me, the bishop was very angry with him, and so were all his creatures, for letting me have my liberty, and had sent for him that morning, but that he would not go till we were gone out of the town. I told him he had best go then, lest the bishop might take some advantage, as if he did not regard him ; but as for us, we did not fear any thing he could do to us. However he went not whilst we staid, which was till about the eleventh hour, I going to see several of the aldermen who had shewed us countenance, and also colonel Warren (before named) before we took horse, and went openly through the greatest part of the town, telling the people on every occasion, I intended to see them again at the assizes, as on the First-day evening I had told —— Sandford, the colonel’s son-in-law, whom they had put into the bishop’s court on this occasion, when he asked me about it, which he approved much, ‘ because,’ said he, ‘ they want only to be rid of you, being such a torment to them by staying, that they do not know what to do, and would have you away at any rate ; but when they know you intend to come again at the assizes, it will perplex them the more.’

‘ We set forward about eleven, on the 11th of the First month, and several friends being in company, in comparing things, we found we had all had a share of the burthen, but were very easy and comfortable in our spirits, concluding, that as we had come laden thither, and left our burthen behind, it was gone upon those who had opposed truth, and would be heavier and heavier on them, till they sunk under it, or yielded. And so we saw the hand of the Lord in the whole, and rejoiced together in him : and that day I went home with Edward Cooper.

12th. ‘The next day we had a meeting at Samuel Watson’s, which was a large open meeting, and other people, as well as friends, were satisfied.

13th. ‘The day following we had another meeting at Carlow, which was also well filled with people of several sorts, and they were very quiet and sober in time of silence. I had taken cold in the transactions at Kilkenny, and upon that had taken a fit of the looseness, incident to strangers in the country of Ireland, which had weakened me as to my natural strength; but the Lord strengthened me, so as to make me instrumental to deliver many things to edification, information, and comfort, and it was a good meeting to some, and the people were generally satisfied, and some much pleased; that night I went home with John Lackey, about a mile from Carlow, back towards Kilkenny, where I was well entertained, and had some things proper for my distemper, as I had had the day before at my friend Samuel Watson’s.

14th. ‘The day following being wet and stormy, I staid here till the afternoon, and Edward Cooper coming from his house on purpose, I went home with him that evening, where I staid till the 16th (being the Seventh of the week) and Patrick Henderson, Samuel Braithwait, Edward Fawcet, and Paul Johnston coming from Dublin, we went together (and some others), to Kilkenny, to see what they had to say to me at the assizes, to which I had been committed by the mittimus aforesaid, not thinking it honourable in the truth to take liberty by word only, lest being absent, they might pretend I had given them the slip, to which I had no temptation from first to last.

‘In our way we fell in upon the road with some persons going to town, and one of them offering some discourse about religion, I perceived, after a while, he was a Roman Catholick; and after some other points we came upon that of transubstantiation. He urged the words of Christ, where he said concerning

the bread, “Take, eat ye all of it; this is my body which is broken before you;” (Mark xiv. 22, 23, 24) and again concerning the cup, “This cup is the New Testament in my blood which is shed for you, &c.” This he said was so plain and distinct, that there could be no mistake in it, “This is my body, this cup is the New Testament, &c.” I answered, ‘This is a figurative speech: this bread signifies my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you; and this cup (that is to say, the wine or liquor contained in it) symbolizes or signifies the New Testament in my blood; for if it were a proper speech, without any figure, many absurdities would follow against both sense and reason; whereas Christ and his apostles suit their doctrine and miracles to both; for in working of miracles, if the senses were not infallible (as they are concerning their proper objects, where the sense is not imposed upon by false mediums, or any depravation in itself; for all mankind will conclude a man to be a man at first sight, though they may express that thing (or man) by different names, as a man, viz. *anthropos, homo, &c.*) then it could not be certainly known whether such a thing as raising the dead, making the lame to walk, opening the eyes of the blind, &c. was done at all; and as to reason, Christ often uses it; “No man can serve two masters,” &c. (Matt. vi. 24). “No man goes to build, but first counts the cost,” &c. (Luke xiv. 31). He that goes to war, first considers whether he is able, with ten thousand, to encounter his enemy in the field with twenty thousand, &c. And again faith reason, It is impossible that both the body of Christ and the bread, can occupy one and the same place, at one and the same time; for when the body is present, the bread must be absent; and when the bread is present, the body must be absent.’

‘And again, to the senses; the apostle John says that, “We have heard with our ears, seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the good word

of life, alluding to the infallible certainty of sense in preaching the gospel; for the life was made manifest, and we have seen it; so that as certain as is sense in sensible subjects and objects, so certain, and yet more, were and are all the true ministers of Christ of those saving and divine truths they deliver from the spirit, or essential truth and life, manifested in them in its own power and virtue, and so certain also may the hearer be of the truth of the ministry, by the manifestation and answer of the same spirit working in him.

‘ I further urged, that it was a figurative speech for this reason, because he saith, “ This cup is the New Testament.” Were it of wood, stone, earth, or metal, that cup, whatever it was, was the New Testament, according to thy and your notion, where then is that cup? If the cup be lost, then also is the Testament, if the cup be the Testament.

‘ This was a little pinching, and drove my antagonist to this reply; viz. This speech of Christ hath two parts, the first is proper concerning his body, but the second is figurative concerning the cup.

‘ Thy reason for the difference, pray, said I, friend?

‘ Because (said he) it was impossible to drink the cup, but only that which is in it.

‘ Tis a good reason, said I, friend, and holds as well the other way; for if that must be figurative respecting the cup, because of the impossibility of drinking the cup itself to common reason; even so for the same reason, deduced from the impossibility of the thing, I justly conclude there is no transubstantiation. But if it had been so, then this, and many other like absurdities, would have followed, viz. whilst Christ sat at table and said, “ This is my body,” the body which brake it and called it his body must cease to be that body, and the other (the bread) must commence and begin to be his body (which it was not before) and be really so before he could pro-

perly and truly call it so, or else there must be many (nay innumerable same bodies) at the same time, and yet all but that one body, which is absurd and unreasonable.

‘ Again, if whilst Christ sat at the table with his disciples, they all eat the whole entire Christ the evening before he was crucified ; pray then who was left uneaten to be crucified the next day ? and if the first to whom he gave a piece of bread had all the whole Christ, what remained for all the rest ? I think nothing at all.

‘ Then he said, Christ told the people, that except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you ; there must then be some way of eating and drinking to make good that saying, which is also very plain in its own nature, the flesh and blood in a proper sense.

‘ To this I answered, that Christ did say so, and the people took him to mean properly, and without a figure as ye now do, looking upon the impossibility of the thing as it really is in the sense they and you take it ; but when they were all offended and gone, he turned to his disciples and explained it to them, for they seemed not rightly to understand him, saying, will ye also leave me ; to you ’tis given to understand the mysteries, but to them (the world) in parables. What then was the parable, or mystery ? ’tis the spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing ; and thus it is in your own bible as well as ours. I further added, that if therefore the bread were really transubstantiated after the words said, and were the true body and blood of Christ, and if they eat and drank the same flesh and blood which then they beheld, it would profit them nothing.

‘ Then, said he, ’tis true the flesh and blood by itself, without the spirit, does not profit ; but when we eat the flesh and blood together, we eat the spirit

also, and that quickens as we eat it. This was a deep fetch, and the last shift, which I answered thus, viz.

' This cannot be Christ's meaning, for here he does not only distinguish, but divide between the flesh and spirit; 'tis the spirit that quickens. Here is the whole work of quickening ascribed to the spirit, and the same that quickens also continues life in him who is quickened; for from the spirit came flesh, blood, bread, wine, and the whole universe, and all that in it is, and are all continued by the same spirit, the substance of all things, but the flesh profiteth nothing. Here it is set apart from the spirit, in the same sentence, and profiteth nothing to be eaten; and for the further interpretation of this, observe first the words of Christ to satan, " Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God;" the words which proceed out of the mouth of God are spirit and life, as said the Lord Christ, who is that word, " My words they are spirit, and they are life;" which words the apostles knew by experience to make them alive and preserve them, as appears, secondly, by the answer of Peter at the same time; whither shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. So that this quickening is not by this so gross and carnal eating and drinking here imagined, but by receiving of the spirit through the words of Christ, abstracted and apart from that holy body, and all other corporiety or body; and for the further understanding of sayings of this nature, observe that when the disciples of Christ were showing him the temple at Jerusalem, and the beauty of it, he said to them, " Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up in three days." The temple at Jerusalem was the object of their eyes and subject of their discourse, which gave them just occasion, as men, to suppose he meant that temple which they said was forty years in building, and could he raise it in three days? they admired at his saying; but yet, in the sequel of

things, they understood afterwards, though not at the time, that he spoke of the temple of his body. Again, in like manner, where he saith, “I am the vine, ye are the branches,” &c. This may well explain that other saying, “I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, ’till I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom; which can mean no other than as his coming in the flesh consecrated the way, and was previous to the coming of the spirit, so his drinking new wine in the kingdom of God, must intend that community of spirit, intended in the words of the apostle afterwards, concerning the whole church; “We have all been made to drink into that one spirit.” My opponent by this time being weary of the subject, advanced a question concerning the spirit itself, viz.

‘ How do you know that spirit from another spirit, since satan is transformed into an angel of light, may it not be that evil one, and not the spirit of Christ?

‘ I replied, that the divine essential truth is self-evidencing, that the quickened soul is assured of him by his own nature, and quickening power and virtue, as faith the apostle, “Hereby we know that he abideth in us,” 1 John iii. 24. (or to this effect) by the spirit which he hath given us; and he that is in a state of doubting, is in a state of condemnation and reprobation, and hath not yet known the spirit, but is yet in death and darkness, and ignorant of God and Christ, and in such, and not in the quickened or regenerated, satan is transformed; for such as wanted a proof of Christ’s speaking in and by the apostles, were by Paul referred back to themselves; “Know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates? and again, the spirit itself helpeth our infirmities, with sighs and groanings which cannot be uttered, and searcheth all things, even the deep things of God.” By this time we drew near the town, and then he said, no doubt but I had a good intent in what I did, in travelling so in the world; but said, I

must have some good considerations for it, (meaning as their priests have, gold and silver) and mentioned about three hundred guineas for that time. I told him no, we whom God had raised up and qualified in some degree, in this age to that service, were advanced above any such mean, base, and mercenary considerations, as to take any thing from men for this labour, which we bestow freely in the love of God, and by his commandment for the common good of men. Why, said he, the apostles were but poor men, and wanted necessaries, and must have received of the people or wanted. True, said I, then they say, having food and raiment, let us be therewithal content, and where that is really the case, such as are poor among us, we would not begrudge them that ; but it is very seldom or never so among us, but rather with Paul we can generally say, " These hands of mine have ministered to my necessities," having no desire that any such thing should be done unto us, and we generally have sufficient of our own. Then said he, but in case your friends, after some very good sermon that pleased a great congregation well and generally, should offer you a purse of two or three hundred guineas, would not you accept it, being freely given ?

' I replied, no, I hope it would be no temptation, if so it were, which never can be as long as they and I abide in the truth we profess, either to give or receive that way ; I should rather be greatly troubled to see so great a degeneracy as to subject them to so great an evil. Well, said he, I cannot tell, you say well, and I am apt to believe you ; but if you would not, there are many would be glad of the offer, and make no bones on't, but receive it with both hands.

' I believe it, said I, for there are too many mercenary hirelings in the world, in this age, who though they pretend a mission to " go teach and baptize all nations," Matt. xxviii. yet, as unfaithful servants, (if

they were sent at all) sit down where they can have the first maintenance, and never move till the voice of a better cry in their ears, and then, and not till then, they run where God does not send them.

‘There is too much of it, said he, and so we parted in friendship, with good wishes on either side.

‘Coming to town, with many friends from other parts, it was soon known, and many were looking what would be the issue of things. William Sandwith being there, he and some others went to the judges, and apprized them of matters and the case, and how friends and I had been used by these high-church persecutors, especially the bishop of Ossory now here at Kilkenny; and Amos Strettell, and some other friends at Dublin, procured a letter from one of the intended lords justices to one of the judges (in his private capacity, not being yet sworn) to see that justice should be done us, for the government favoured us, but our enemies and theirs proceeded under a pretence of law that was not to be over ruled; but they inclined to do all they could in honour and safety, which was all we desired of them.

‘They sent for the sheriff to see the calendar, and not finding the mittimus returned, they saw our adversaries had no mind to meddle against us, but were willing to drop it, which they rather advised us to overlook for that time, since we might in time have our meetings free, which was all we desired; but that evening one of the judges said in open court, when he gave the charge, that it was treason in any to pull down or deface any public, religious meeting-house; which going quickly through the town, many rejoiced on our account, it being a great stroke on our adversaries; and I made this construction of it, that as the house was a circumstance and accommodation to the meeters, who were of more regard than the house, and it only regarded for their sakes, if it were treason to deface the house, how much more so in thus dis-

turbing and abusing those that met therein? which some laying hold of, inculcated it among the people to our further advantage upon our enemies.

' 17th. The next day (being the first of the week) we appointed another meeting in the same place, for we were for the same cause still, the liberty of the gospel without fear of any, and went accordingly, and a full meeting it was, and very comfortable and quiet to all outward appearance; but I had felt all the night before an inward load and sting from some corner or other, and expected another bout, and so it happened; for Patrick Henderson kneeling down to prayer, in the mean time came in the mayor's serjeants, but as civilly as could be desired, and made no disturbance during the time of prayer, and one of them went out again soon after, but the other staid: a little after prayer was ended, I stood up and spake a while; but had not got well into the matter in my mind, till the other serjeant stood up, and with great reluctancy (for we all believed it was much against his will) and low voice said, he was sent of the mayor to command us in the king's name to disperse; but quickly added, but if you will not, I cannot compel you, nor have any orders to force, and so went civilly away. Then I proceeded in my testimony, many things opening to the state of the people, particularly relating to the duty of a Christian, not to believe only, but also to suffer when thereunto called, and plainly set forth the nature and ground of persecution, satan the cause, and wicked men his instruments in it; as Cain, Jezabel, the high-priests, popes and prelates; as they might now see in this present case, though but a shadow to what we had met with, not always by plain and open violence, but more generally under the specious pretext of law and right; and then I concluded the meeting in prayer. After the meeting was over, we heard that one of the churchwardens had been there, and he and the serjeant which disturbed us (for the other

said he had been troubled in conscience since the first time) were sent for by the bishop, who in the hearing of the judges (they dining there) examined them about the meeting, what we were doing, and what we said. They told him we were at prayer when they came in, and a good-like, black man, (meaning P. Henderson) prayed heartily and devoutly for the king and him (the bishop) too ; and all of them, for he prayed for all in authority under him.

Then the bishop asked them if I had preached, and the churchwarden said I did ; upon which the bishop tendered him his oath, it being me his great spite and envy was bent against chiefly. Then he had the act of uniformity of the 14th of Charles the Second in England (but the 17th in Ireland) brought before him, and discoursed upon it with the judges, he thinking it reached us, and would have pumped the judges, and had their opinion on it, but they were wiser than he, and said nothing, but let him take his own way ; for they were staunch friends to the king's interest, and were our friends, as knowing our integrity to the king and his government, and so the bishop's rage and envy blinding him (if he could at all understand the act) he first gave a warrant and mittimus in his own name, directed to the sheriff of the town, to arrest and commit me to the common gaol for three months without bail or mainprize ; where this antichristian judge (for there are many now as of old in the world) intended I should lie, until the full time was expired, without any liberty as before ; if either by hardship or otherwise (for I was then but weak and tender) he had not murdered me in the mean time, for he had, before I went out of the town, sent for the sheriff and reprimanded him sharply, for letting me go abroad in town upon my first commitment, threatening to have him before the House of Lords the next session of Parliament.

Our afternoon meeting this day being over, which

was very peaceable (for now we had conquered him so far as that none disturbed us) I found a secret stting as I went to the inn with the friends, who lodged there, from Dublin; and we were there but a short time, till I was told there was another warrant and mittimus out against me from the bishop, and then I hasted to my quarters at the sheriff's house, where I expected it; and found that such a warrant had been directed to the mayor, and sent to the sheriff to be executed, but it not being directed to the sheriff, he would not receive it, but sent it back to the mayor. Then the bishop, mayor, and alderman Connell, and some more consulted further, and found their error, as to the bishop's giving a warrant himself; for all the act requires in the case for which it was made, is that the bishop, as ordinary, should certify the offence (only relating to those of his own sect) to any two justices, or mayor, &c. and then they to grant a warrant and mittimus, which now the mayor granted accordingly, a copy whereof followeth, viz.

‘ City of Kilkenny, ss. By John Birch, Esq.
Mayor of the said city.

‘ Whereas I received a certificate, under the hand and seal of the right reverend father in God Thomas lord bishop of Ossory, in which he certifies, that Thomas Story, a Quaker, did this day preach in the said city of Kilkenny, contrary to the act of uniformity made in the seventeenth year of the reign of king Charles the Second.

‘ These are therefore in pursuance of the said act and certificate, to will and require you, on sight hereof, to apprehend the body of the said Thomas Story, and him so apprehended to convey to the common gaol of the said city, there to remain for the space of three months, without bail or mainprize;

whereof fail not at your peril, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal this 17th day of March, 1716.

‘ John Birch, Mayor.’

To the several Constables and Officers
of the said city.

‘ This warrant the same serjeant, which came last in the forenoon to distract our meeting, brought to the sheriff’s house now in the evening, but delayed execution for an hour; and in the mean time some friends advised with some counsellors of their acquaintance in town at the assizes; and some of them said it was in the nature of an execution, so that it might be more dangerous for the sheriff to give liberty, or let me be in his house, than before, so that things looked a little harder; but as I had not read the act for a long time, and not remembering the tenor of it, I thought there must be something in it to justify their proceedings, or else they would not have done it, and so was resigned in my mind to submit to it for the truth’s sake, and was very easy, being in more danger of too deep a resentment of their base and wicked usage of me, than of repining at the loss of my liberty; for I had a view of some things to employ my time in, which would have made my confinement much more uneasy to the bishop (who now I saw, and so did every body there, to be the author of all this persecution upon us) than to me, for the Lord was with me; after some time the serjeant came into the room (for we let the door be open on purpose) and served me with a warrant; but the sheriff said, I should not go out of his house that night however, come on it what would, and so I staid there; but the truth arising in me, I observed the indignation thereof against the bishop, but no enmity in me against him, as a man; and after a little inward concern that way, I sent for the act and read it carefully, and saw they were all

quite mistaken; for the act had no relation to us, or our meetings or preaching, but to themselves, the priests and bishops only; for after the coming in of king Charles the second, there were many priests, who in Oliver's days, had been in the benefices (the bone of contention they ever strive for) and finding the sweet of them, would fain have held them, and yet could not readily swallow the Common Prayer and services of the others, which they had furiously opposed and rejected so lately before, till this law forced them, which they generally complied with rather than lose their gains; which respected only their own priests, to bring them all to one scantling, or uniformity of prayers and worship, or image of it, but concerned no other.

' Then, after a while, I told the sheriff it was false imprisonment, and desired him and others to take down in writing, what time I was arrested, because there might be occasion for their evidence; the sheriff seemed a little surprized at it that the great bishop and his counsellors should miss it so far, but took no account of the time.

' The next morning, before I rose (for I laid till eight, being a little fatigued) several friends had been with the judges, and they had given their thoughts freely, how much this was against the mind of the government to disturb our meetings, and did not doubt but this would do us service in the end; however they advised, that seeing how times stood (the talk of an invasion by the Swedes not being over, and that town a dangerous place to be in prison in) if the bishop would set me at liberty, they would have me chuse it rather. But of this I had heard nothing, nor would friends give ear, any more than I, to make application to the bishop, for that he wanted.

' About nine in the morning, whilst I was at breakfast, came the same serjeant that arrested me, with a

message from the mayor, that he had taken up the warrant and mittimus, and I was at liberty to go where I pleased, if I would accept of it. I told the serjeant he ought to send me a *liberate* under his hand and seal, and not think I was wholly at his disposal, to toss in and out of prison as he pleased, but had my remedy by law against him and them who had used me thus.

‘ Then also came several military officers to see me, and expressed their great dislike, in their soldiery way ; some of them among themselves, drinking healths to king George, and all his loyal subjects, and damnation to the pope and all rebels ; but I discountenanced that, saying we did not wish hurt to the souls or bodies of any, though we were greatly engaged to love and honour the king, and be thankful to God, as we truly were, for the liberty we enjoyed under him. ‘ In all places,’ said one of the officers, ‘ except in this jacobite popish town of Kilkenny, with whom we hope to be even ere long, for all their affronts to the king and government.’

‘ A little after this came the mayor himself to my lodging, to tell me I was at liberty, for he had taken up the mittimus and destroyed it. I then told him, since that violence by which my just liberty had been obstructed, was removed, it was now returned into its own natural course, and if I could find it consisting with what I professed, I should consider of ways and means how to do myself justice against such violent and illegal proceedings ; but as it was a wrong done me for the sake of my religion, I might probably bear it with patience for that reason, being sensible enough of the advantages I had of my enemies. He made very little reply, but civilly departed.

‘ After this I went to several places in town to take leave of such of the magistrates as had been friendly ; for all the king’s friends were so, and some papists

were troubled at these proceedings, as working no good for them.

‘ Truth was honoured, and gained by all this, and the eyes of many were opened to see the bishop and his spirit and party, and what many might expect if he and they should prevail ; and many tongues were let loose, after their several ways, to speak their sentiments, by all which our persecutor and persecutors greatly lost ground, and fell quite short of their wicked designs. But before I departed the city, I met with R. Connell, the peevish tool of this proud bishop, and told him I was at liberty, which he pretended to be surprized at ; but I told him if I had staid longer some of them might have had the more to pay ; for it was false imprisonment, the act they went upon being about their own priests. He desired me to go to his house (being near) and see the act ; I told him I had seen it already. Then said he, ‘ I have as good counsel as any in Ireland, that says it does affect you.’ I replied, that I would debate it with all the counsel in Ireland, and that it had no relation to us at all. Then he wished me well, when he could do me no more hurt, and so I left him.

‘ 18th. That afternoon about three, I left the town, most friends being gone, seeing the thing at an end, and went that evening home with Joseph Firth, to Ballinakill.

‘ 19th. The next day we had a meeting there, which was not large, but a good open meeting, the Lord being near to comfort and refresh us after so much fatigue ; for many friends thereabout came to visit me in my confinement, and some or other were always with me, and several from this place. The earl of Donnegall was in this meeting, and behaved more soberly than he was known to do before, being apt to be restless and troublesome at some other times ; and that afternoon I went home with John

Harris to Mountrath, who had been several times with me at Kilkenny, and now had seen the conclusion.

‘ 21st. On the 21st was their meeting day (the Fifth of the week). It was a large, open meeting, many of the neighbourhood, papists and others, being there, and a good time the Lord gave us together.

‘ 23d. On the 23d I went to Mountmelick, lodging at the widow Mary Bale’s, and next day had a meeting there in the forenoon, which consisted mostly of friends, and was not very open, but larger in the afternoon, some of the neighbourhood coming in, which I generally observed freshens meetings, and many things were opened in the authority of truth, to edification, confirmation, and comfort.

‘ 26th. Here I tarried till the Third day afternoon, and then set forward towards Dublin, and that night reached only Kildare, and the next day arrived in Dublin, where I was kindly received and lodged at my old quarters, with my friend Amos Strettell, and was at their meeting the Sixth day following, viz. th 29th, which was fresh and open, and we were comforted together in the truth, which as the heavens transcend the earth, exceedeth all other enjoyments. Hearing of a vessel bound for Chester (and intending for the Yearly meeting there), I took early care to secure my passage in it; but the wind not answering, I staid the First-day following in Dublin, and the meetings were very large, especially at Sycamore-Alley, in the afternoon, where came together a great concourse of people (hardly a greater meeting seen there) and things were open and well, and the blessed truth over all, who is worthy above all for ever.

‘ The wind not answering, I staid still at Dublin till the Fifth day, and was at their Third day meeting, where I had some time, things opening to many states

very close, and I came away easy, leaving the better sort under good satisfaction, and many came to see me before I went off, and among others captain Smith. He had been in military offices, but being under some convincement, was at that time under great inward struggles; for having a commission for a captain of dragoons then offered him, he would gladly have seen it lawful for him, and consisting with truth to accept the commission and sell it, not intending to act by it; but upon some private discourse with him, he was more straitened about it, and was very tender and humble, and we parted in love and friendship, he owning his satisfaction in that conference.

‘ On the Fifth day, the 4th of the month, accompanied by several friends, I set off from Dublin Bay, about two in the afternoon, with a fresh gale about West, and the next day, about the same time, arrived at Park-Gate, on Chester river, but that evening, the waves being high, went on shore there, where we tarried that night at an inn, and next morning went up to Chester, and lodged at the Golden Talbot, an inn.’

In the year 1717, died Abigail Abbot, alias Smith, at Moeg, near Charleville, in the province of Munster. She was daughter of Richard Boles of the same place, was married to one Smith, and after her husband’s death was convinced by the ministry of William Bingley, about the year 1675, and about eight years after her convincement was called to the ministry. She was an eloquent woman, of a majestic presence, much admired and followed. She travelled on truth’s account both in this nation and in England, had acceptable service in many places, and several persons were convinced by her ministry. She was greatly applauded by many, and being not strong enough to bear praise, was transported into pride thereby, lost her

gift, and fellowship with friends, and from the highest pitch of applause, fell into as low a degree of contempt. It is certain however, that she became sensible of her fall, and suffered many bitter agonies on that account, passing the latter years of her life in retirement, great sorrow, and mortification, and has left behind her a pathetic paper of self-condemnation, which is here annexed, as a caution to all those that think they stand, although in the highest station, to take heed lest they fall.

Besides the following paper, she also afterwards drew up another, wherein she more particularly specified her miscarriages, and warned those concerned in the ministry to watch against that luciferian spirit, which would deck and adorn itself with the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, and not to value themselves upon any gift which God bestows on them; because that opens a wide door for temptation, and was (as she confesseth) the first inlet to all the miseries that befel her: hence she grew impatient of contradiction, and deaf to advice, and at length, in contempt of the good order established among friends, was married by a priest, to a man not in unity with them.

Her paper of condemnation, first mentioned, was as follows :

‘ Friends and people,

‘ I once thought, that if I might gain all things here below the sun, yet I would not commit the least sin knowingly against God, who in years past evidently enlightened my understanding, when I was sore afflicted in body and mind, and all comforts and help of this transitory world failed me; and when I concluded the true worship of God was generally hid from mankind, for I knew of none that went heartily enough about it, nor could I sufficiently bewail those

infirmitieſ and imperfeſtions that apparently poſſeſſed and hindered that great work in me, and which I feared too many concluded themſelves ſecure in on easier terms. Thus, in a day of great diſtreſs, the Lord was pleaſed to bring down my mind, and reduce my ſpirit into a calm. Then did occur many things which before ſlept unſeen to me, for I plainly ſaw I need not ascend, nor descend, to look for Christ, the true Light, that enlightens every man that comes into the world, for his quick and powerful word was in my heart, which teaches to deny every evil and vain thought, by the learning of which a man becomes godly; and ſo the peace of God is ſhed abroad in the heart, even in this preſent world; and in this quiet, peaceable, and comfortable condition, or estate, I reſted with God and in his will in all things, withdrawning myſelf from ſociety with any ſort of people, having proved many.

‘ At this time ſome ſaid I was a Quaker, and that I knew it not, which thing I put far from me, not thinking it worth my while to conſider thoſe that were more ſpoken againſt than any I knew, as a poor, whimsical people, led by an erroneous ſpirit: nay, to the degree of bewitching people. But ſome time after this, my heart being drawn near to God in a ſpirit of ſupplication to him, that he would daily renew a right ſpirit within me, then theſe people called Quakers, came afreſh into my mind, with much ſatisfaction in myſelf, that I might ſeek them, to know them whom perhaps the world was ignorant of. This was the firſt moving cauſe that brought me acquainted with thoſe people; and finding them to be an inward people, owing the ſpiritual light and life which comes by Jesus Christ, and makes manifest, and reproves the works of darkness in the hearts of the children of men, &c. to the end that Christ might rule and reign in his temple; for this I loved them, and deſired fellowship with them, and after ſome time their love

to me in Christ was great, with whom God not only joined me in society, but in a sweet union and fellowship, and with them made me partake of many seasons of divine consolations and refreshments, which he vouchsafed from his presence, and also gave me power to declare to many, the justice and mercy of Almighty God which is in Christ Jesus, whose powerful Spirit so attended me in it, as not only silenced gainsayers, but extorted an assent to the truth thereof.

‘ And now, O all people, which of you could think that such an one as I, whom God so evidently and graciously visited with exceeding kindness, and as a tender father lifted up the light of his countenance on me, should fall away? He led me by the hand, and forsook me not in my distresses, but supported me through many exercises, till he conducted me out of those things, and out of that estate to which his wrath by an eternal decree belonged, and in matchless mercy brought me into that estate, wherein I found peace and comfort with God, and also brought me to an acquaintance with that people, with whom he also dealt as he did with me, having an evidence in my conscience, from my own experience, that they were a chosen people of God. Yet let none wonder, but let all hear, fear, and tremble, with watching and prayer continually, lest any thinking they stand, might fall; for the enemy of man’s soul is as busy now, as ever he was in all ages, states and conditions; and woe is me, that I, by not keeping watchful, in true humility before the Lord, have done dismally foolish, by letting in a high mind contrary to the mind of Christ, who would always have preserved me, had I kept near him in my first simplicity; for it is an everlasting truth, there is no estate higher to be attained on this side the grave, than a truly humble watchful state, which I neglected, and by reason of this I held fast deceit, and refused to return, which many of the Lord’s people saw, who truly loved me, and

tenderly admonished me with many tears oftentimes ; but the enemy of my soul so prevailed over me, and darkened my understanding, that I thought they were too severe with me, from whence a prejudice arose in my vile heart against them, and I had not room left in me to receive their Christian counsel and admonition ; that in time my understanding was so clouded, through a murmuring spirit which soured my mind and perverted my judgment to that degree, that when my friends refused to let me take my now husband in their assemblies on my own terms, I foolishly concluded, that though I went from the people of the Lord to marry my husband with a minister of the world's people, yet the Lord would still be with me as before, seeing he had brought me near himself before I knew them : thus Sampson-like, who slept on the lap of his Delilah, I knew not that my strength was departed from me, and so, rashly and resolutely, I rushed into the congregation of the dead, as a dog returns to his vomit, which thing was displeasing to God, and afflicting to his people, and so accomplished my design, which gave date to many miseries and unspeakable sorrows, which can never be repaired by only crying *peccavi*. And the Lord in his justice raised many and strong enemies against me on every side ; but no lion roared like that in my own bosom, though those without afflicted me sorely ; from which proceeded frettings, quarrellings, wranglings, and boilings of heart ; but all this forwardness in me did but add storm to storm, sting to sting, and burden to burden ; all which the ever-merciful God, in his time, made me sensible of, how much precious time I had spent in musing how to get out of such a trouble, how to get off such and such a burden, and how to revenge myself of such and such a wrong. This, I say, the Lord made me sensible of, that it was he himself was the chief agent, and had the greatest hand in all my just and great afflictions ; and it was he

that was to be eyed and owned, and not any secondary cause ; and he is just in all that is brought upon me, and I have done exceeding wickedly ; and when I consider the truth of this, it enables me to bear with much patience all that God is pleased to dispense to me, which hitherto hath been too little, I greatly fear, for such an one as I, who at once abandoned both my religion and my reason too, by acting such prodigious and premeditated wickedness ; so that I have nothing to excuse or shelter me from the stroke of divine justice, it makes so directly at me ; who by not only acting counter to all I have professed and declared of, but also by my great folly, have given occasion to the adversaries of the Lord's truth to rejoice and to speak evil of the spirit of truth, another than which will never be revealed, which is Christ the way ; and I greatly fear I have been a stumbling block in that to many. This great wickedness I myself have done, by not keeping the body of sin under ; but I do not complain because of my punishment, for I have greatly sinned ; and O how can I sufficiently bewail, mourn, weep, and lament ! O, what pangs, sighs, and tears, can expiate my guilt ? Doubtless many shall be turned into hell, who never sinned against so clear a light, especial love, and precious mercies, such close and strong reasonings of the spirit, and deep convictions of conscience, as I have done. What lamentations shall I take up for the loss of the presence of God, which I once had with my spirit, and those melting, warming, quickening joys, in which I found peace with God, whose free mercies pardoned all my sins, and whose grace adorned my soul. Oh, how can I now but wax hot against myself, and be contented to be trodden under foot by all, as mire in the streets ; for misery is my portion ; and as for any comfort, I refer that to God's will only ; for could I pour out a sea of tears, yet then could I not deserve any thing but the fiery torments of God's

hot displeasure ; and O that the Lord would not spare his sharp rod, nor withhold his judgments, nor the pangs of hell from before mine eyes, until he, through the mercy and love which is in Christ Jesus, redeem my soul thereby, and clothe me with his righteousness once more, before I go hence; for surely no sin shall pass unrevenged, neither great nor small, in this world, or in the world to come.

‘ And O, all you who have been enlightened, and have tasted how good God is, and have known something of the powers of the world to come, and yet remain lukewarm, or are fallen with me, though not into such a deep pit of mire, as to dash dirt in the face of God’s truth, and people, as I have done; for I know none can parallel me in this our age; surely none so wicked as I, who have dishonoured the holy name of God, and on his pure religion brought reproach; weak saints I have discouraged; my own conscience is wounded and my soul endangered, my candle is put out, my crown is fallen from my head which once covered it, and by which I had knowledge and skill how to behave myself in the church of God: I am stripped naked, and spoiled of all that excellency with which God adorned me. O, that all you might be warned, and with me call to mind whence we are fallen, and do our first works, and bring forth every forbidden and accursed thing which hath occasioned our fall, and the stumbling of many; and let us make confession to God, and give glory to him; for had all who have made profession of the everlasting gospel, which is the power of God, been faithful in their day, O, what a conquest would have been gained over the world that lies in wickedness before now; but I am here silenced, for I am one that has fled before the Lord’s enemies, the accursed thing was in my own heart; and it hath given cause to the heathen to say, ‘ The Lord of Hosts, whom we trusted in, is not able to save us.’

O, friends, what have we done that have not been faithful to God? And it is sealed from God upon my spirit, that the Lord is jealous for his honour, and he hath given space to me and many more to repent, and there remains but a little time behind ere many of us shall be cut off out of the land of the living for ever, except we speedily repent, and double our diligence, and cry to the Lord with all our hearts in a sense of our own vileness, and of the great wrath we lie under if the Lord should take us away in his sore displeasure: and O, that my eyes may not sleep, nor my head nor heart rest, till the Lord shew mercy, and turn from his fierce wrath, and have pity on us! And I desire none may think that this is sent abroad into the world, which may last amongst men when I am gone to my place, to please any society or feet of people whatsoever, any farther than God might be glorified, and his blessed spirit of truth, which lights and guides all people into happiness that will be led by it; I say, that this might be rescued from the tongues of a multitude of ungodly men, into whose hands I have betrayed the Lord of life as much as in me lay, Judas-like. Woe is me, seeing I have done nothing, nor can do any thing to wipe away this great reproach which I have brought; only this I would have all know, this great, great fault and sin, is mine; I take it to myself; sorrow, trouble, and great affliction is my due; I take it home to myself as the fruit of my own doings, from the hand of the Lord that is jealous of his honour; and though he is long-suffering and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgressions, yet by no means clearing the guilty; they shall not go unpunished, either in this world, or in the world to come. And O, that a spirit of forgiveness from the Lord may rest upon the hearts of all that truly fear him, so as that they may heartily desire that a spirit of judgment from the Lord may

rest upon me here to the purifying of my soul, so that I might rest with him hereafter for ever and ever. Amen.'

' Abigail Abbot.'

The book called 'The Spirit of the Martyrs revived,' (1718) being an abridgment of the history of the martyrs, was now ordered to be printed, for the benefit of youth and others.

In the year 1718, and about the sixty-fourth of his age, died Samuel Randal, near Cork, whose qualifications and good services as an elder, though he had not a publick gift in the ministry, deserve to be commemorated. His grave and solid conversation, when but a youth, adorned his Christian profession; but in the station of an elder he was truly deserving of double honour, being not only a good example himself in plainness, temperance, and justice among men, but also zealously concerned for the honour of God and promotion of truth; and that Christian discipline and good order might be maintained among the professors thereof, and justice and judgment duly exercised on loose and disorderly walkers, and our Christian profession be thereby cleared of the reproach and scandal which was by such brought upon it; and in his dealings with particular persons, or families, he discharged his duty faithfully, and without respect of persons. And as he was sensible that the conversation of the world, and the eager pursuit after the riches and grandeur thereof, had proved hurtful to many in their spiritual condition, he was tenderly engaged to be exemplary in his own conduct in that respect; for when probable prospects of considerable opportunities of worldly gain presented themselves, he often declined embracing them for truth's and example's sake. He was cheerfully given up to the service of truth, not only at home, but by a constant attendance of both national and provincial meetings for many years, in winter as well as summer, until natural strength

failed. He died in unity with the brethren, peace with God, and a calm resignation to his holy will.

The same year died also Margaret Hoare, alias Satterthwaite, concerning whom we have the following testimony : that her conversation was exemplary and edifying as became a minister of Christ. She was of a good understanding, and her conduct attended with great sobriety, humility, and prudence. She had an excellent gift in the ministry, which was as well doctrinal, as sweetly comfortable and edifying ; and she travelled frequently on this account, both in England and Ireland, and had meetings not only among friends, but strangers ; and when at home, was very serviceable in visiting friends families, and doing other good offices in the church.

In her last sickness she plainly triumphed over death, saying that her salvation was sealed to her ; and near the time of her departure, uttered these, among other sweet and excellent expressions to some friends about her : ‘ Remember my dear love to all my dear friends, and tell them, I am going to my God, and their God, to my King, and their King. I have a clear conscience, void of offence towards God, and towards all men : my soul doth magnify the Lord,’ &c.

In the year 1719, and eightieth of his age, died Robert Hoope, of Lurgan, in the county of Armagh, a native of Skelton near Gisborough in Yorkshire, who came into Ireland in the year 1660. He was educated a Protestant after the manner of the church of England ; and continued such until several doubts concerning matters of religion began to possess his mind ; which at length, about the year 1667 or 1668, were effectually cleared up, by the powerful ministry of that faithful servant of Christ, Thomas Loe, who was then visiting those parts in the service of the gospel ; and from that time he always assembled himself with the people called Quakers, although he met with many persecutions and trials by imprisonment, and

sufferings of many kinds. In some few years after his convincement, it pleased God to bestow upon him a gift in the ministry, in the exercise of which he laboured faithfully, to the edification of souls ; and although his preaching was not with eloquence of speech, yet it was attended with life and power. He was a plain, sound-hearted man, free from ostentation, a peace-maker, a true disciple and follower of Jesus in self-denial, and preferring the glories of the heavenly kingdom before the perishing riches of this world, of which he gave a signal proof in the latter part of his life, having, for the space of about twenty years before his decease, when his health and capacity might have allowed him to pursue the affairs of this life with a prospect of an increase of outward riches, separated himself from the incumbrances of the world, living a life of solitude and meditation, and devoting himself to the service and promotion of truth.

The years 1718 and 1719 were memorable for the first advances towards the deliverance of friends from the sufferings to which they had long been liable, on account of their conscientious refusal to swear. Great sufferings having lately attended them on this occasion, particularly by litigious, wicked persons, filing bills in Chancery against them, where their answers would not be admitted without an oath, (a grievance they had long laboured under *) it was now concluded, that endeavours should be used, if a plain affirmation, or such as might be easy to all friends, could not be obtained, to get a clause in a proper bill to empower the chancellor, and the barons of the exchequer, to receive friends answers without an oath, where, and in such cases as they may think convenient ; which endeavours were crowned with a happy success : for in the year 1719, in an act of parliament, intituled, ‘ An Act for the Amendment of

* See above, in the year 1673.

the Law' &c. a clause was obtained, allowing friends' answers to bills in Chancery upon their solemn affirmation, and producing a certificate signed by six credible friends. The same year also a clause was obtained in an act passed for exempting Protestant dissenters from certain penalties they were liable unto, allowing friends the privilege (in common with other Protestant dissenters) of worshipping God according to their conscience, without molestation, viz. it was hereby enacted, ' That the statute of the 2d of queen Elizabeth, for the uniformity of the Common Prayer, &c. whereby all persons are required to resort to their parish church or chapel, or some usual place of Common Prayer, &c. shall not extend to any Protestant dissenter who shall take the oaths of fidelity, &c. provided that the place of meeting be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon, or to justices of the peace at the quarter-sessions, and that the assembly be not held with the doors locked, barred, or bolted ; and every quaker who shall make or subscribe the declaration of fidelity to king George, of renouncing the pope and pretender, with the doctrines of purgatory, transubstantiation, &c. shall be exempted from all penalties in the aforesaid act, and shall enjoy all the like privileges and advantages as other Protestant dissenters.

THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE CALLED
QUAKERS

IX

IRELAND.

CHAPTER IV.

From the registering of Friends Meeting-houses, in the year 1719, to the year 1751.—The Church in danger from a spirit of libertinism and luke-warmness, in the time of outward peace and freedom.—The solemn affirmation first granted to Friends of England, through the joint solicitation of Friends of that and this nation, and afterwards extended to Friends of Ireland.—Divers Visits to Friends and Strangers, for the promotion of the Christian Doctrine and Discipline.—Summary of the lives, characters, and spiritual exercises of divers of their eminent Ministers and Elders.—Chronological Tables of the first Settlement of the several Meetings in Ireland, and of the Visits of ministering Friends: as also, a summary view of the Sufferings of this People, from the beginning to the present Year.

IT is observable, that in this time of outward peace, and freedom from sufferings of divers kinds (1720), to which Friends formerly had been exposed, cause was given for complaints at the Third month national meeting, 1720, of the breach of minutes, through the prevalence of a loose libertine spirit among many

of our youth, and a careless, sleepy, slothful spirit, with respect to religious duties, among some more aged ; and particularly about this time (1721) friends were greatly afflicted on an observation of the failings of some, in relation to their trading and dealing beyond the bounds of truth and moderation, to the invading the property of others, and obstruction of the progress of truth ; and complaint was made of the negligence of divers parents in educating their children in honest and suitable employments, of pride in apparel, and the high living of some above their circumstances, to the dishonour of truth, their own hurt, and the trouble of the church. Now in order to stop the progress of these evils, a provisional visit was made to the several monthly meetings, in the provinces of Leinster and Ulster ; and likewise a certain paper intitled, ‘ A brief and serious Warning to such as are concerned in Commerce and Trading, who go under the profession of Truth, to keep within the bounds thereof, in Righteousness, Justice, and Honesty, to all Men,’ written by Ambrose Rigg, was now reprinted for a general service, which was as followeth :

‘ Many days and months, yea, some years, hath my life been oppressed, and my spirit grieved, to see and hear of the uneven walking of many, who have a name to live, and profess the knowledge of God in words, yea, and also of some who have tasted of the good word of God, and have been made partakers of the powers of the world to come, and have received the heavenly gift and grace of God, which teacheth all who walk in it, to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, honestly, and righteously in this present world ; whose faithfulness (with great reason) hath been expected to God in things of the highest concern, and to have walked as lights in the world, and in all faithfulness both to

God and man, to have stood as living monuments of the mercies of the Lord, letting their lights so shine before men, that they might see their good works, both in spiritual and temporal concerns ; and so might have honoured and glorified God in their day and generation, and have convinced or confounded gain-fayers, putting to silence the ignorance of foolish men ; whereby the worthy name of the Lord, by which they have been called, might have been renowned through the earth ; and his precious truth and glory spread to the ends of it ; that many through the beholding their good and exemplary conversation in Christ, coupled with the holy fear of God, might have desired to lay hold of the skirt of a Christian indeed, whose praise is not of men, but of God.

These are the fruits which we have laboured and travailed for, through many and great tribulations, that many might be turned to righteousness, and that the knowledge of the power and glory of the Lord might cover the earth, even as the waters do the sea. This was, and is, our only end and design, which, blessed be the Lord, many are witnesses of, and established in, to our abundant joy and comfort. But there are some amongst us, who have not walked humbly with the Lord, as he hath required, nor kept in that low estate ; neither inwardly nor outwardly, which becometh such who are travelling up to Zion, with their faces thitherward ; but have launched from the rock which is firm and sure, into the great sea of troubles and uncertainty, where some have been drowned, others hardly escaping, and many yet labouring for the shore, with little hopes of coming at it ; who have not only brought themselves in danger of suffering shipwreck, but have drawn in others, and have endangered them also ; which hath opened the mouths of the enemies of Zion's welfare, to blaspheme his great and glorious name ; and hath eclipsed the lustre of the glorious Sun, of

Righteousness, both in city and in country : this is a crying evil, and ought not to go unreproved, and that with a severe countenance ; for God is angry with it; and will assuredly punish it.

Many have got credit upon the account of truth, because at the beginning it did, and doth still, lead all, who were and are faithful to it, to faithfulness and truth, even in the unrighteous mammon, and to let their Yea be Yea, and their Nay be Nay, even between man and man in outward things ; so that many would have credited one that was called a Quaker with much, and many I believe did merely upon that account, some whereof, I doubt, have just cause to repent of it already : but if truth and righteousness had been lived in by all who profess it, there had been no such occasion given : for they who still retain their integrity to the truth and life of righteousness manifested, can live with a cup of water, and a morsel of bread in a cottage, before they can hazard other mens estates to advance their own. Such are not forward to borrow, nor to complain for want ; for their eye and trust is to the Lord their preserver and upholder, and he hath continued the little meal in the barrel, and the oil in the cruse hath not failed to such, till God hath sent further help ; this is certainly known to a remnant at this day, “ who have coveted no man’s silver, gold, or apparel, but have and do labour with their hands night and day, that the gospel may be without charge.”

‘ It is so far below the nobility of Christianity, that it is short of common civility and honest society amongst men, to twist into mens estates, and borrow upon the truth’s credit (gained by the just and upright dealing of the faithful) more than they certainly know their own estates are like to answer ; and with what they borrow, reach after great things in the world, appearing to men to be what in the sight of God and truth they are not ; seeking to compass great

gain to themselves, whereby to make themselves or children rich or great in the world : this I testify for the Lord God is deceit and hypocrisy, and will be blasted with the breath of his mouth ; and we have seen it blasted already.

‘ And that estate that is got either with the rending, or with the hazard of rending another man’s, is neither honestly got, nor can be blessed in the possession : for he that borrows money of another, if the money lent be either the lender’s proper estate, or part of it, or orphan’s money that he is entrusted withal, or widow’s, or some such, who would not let it go, but upon certain good security, and to have the valuable consideration of its improvement ; and the borrower, though he hath little or no real or personal estate of his own, but hath got some credit, either as he is a professor of the truth, or otherwise, and hath (it may be) a little house, and a small trade, it may be enough to a low and contented mind ; but then the enemy gets in, and works in his mind, and he begins to think of an higher trade and a finer house, and to live more at ease and pleasure in the world, and then contrives how he may borrow of this and the other ; and when accomplished according to his desire, then he begins to undertake great things, and get into a fine house, and gather rich furniture and goods together, launching presently into the strong torrent of a great trade, and then makes a great shew, beyond what really he is, which is dishonesty. And if he accomplish his intended purpose, to raise himself in the world, it is with the hazard, at least, of other men’s ruin, which is unjust ; but if he falls short of his expectation, as commonly such do, then he doth not only ruin others, but himself also, and brings a great reproach upon the blessed truth he professeth, which is worse than all ; and this hath already been manifested in a great measure, and by sad experience witnessed. But the honest, upright,

heart and mind knows how to want, as well as how to abound, having learned content in all states and conditions ; a small cottage and a little trade is sufficient to that mind, and it never wants what is sufficient : for He that clothes the lilies, and feeds the ravens, cares for all who trust in him, as it is at this day witnessed, praises to God on high ; and that man hath no glory in, nor mind out after, ‘superfluous or needless, rich hangings, costly furniture, fine tables, great treats, curious beds, vessels of silver, or vessels of gold, the very possession of which creates envy,’ as said the ancient Christian, Clemens Alexandrinus. *Pædag.* lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 160, 161.

‘The way to be rich and happy in this world is first to learn righteousness ; for such were never forsaken in any age, nor their seed begged bread. And charge all parents of children, that they keep their children low and plain in meat, drink, and apparel, and every thing else, and in due subjection to all just and reasonable commands ; and let them not appear above the real estates of their parents, nor get up in pride and high things though their parents have plentiful estates ; for that is of dangerous consequence to their future happiness. And let all who profess the truth, both young and old, rich and poor, see that they walk according to the rule and discipline of the gospel, in all godly conversation and honesty, that none may suffer wrong by them in any matter or thing whatever : that as the apostle exhorted, “they may owe nothing to any man, but to love one another ; for love out of a pure heart is the fulfilling of the law :” which law commands to do justly to all men : and he that hath but little, let him live according to that little, and appear to be what in truth he is ; for above all God abhors the hypocrite, and he that makes haste to be rich, falls into snares, temptations, and many noisome and hurtful lusts, (1 Tim. vi. 9), which drown many in perdition ; “and the love of money is

the root of all evil, which while some have lustred after, they have erred from the faith, and compassed themselves about with many sorrows." (1 Tim. vi. 10.)

' For preventing this growing evil for the time to come, let such by faithful friends be exhorted, who either live without due care, spending above what they are able to pay for, or run into great trades, beyond what they can in honesty and truth manage, and let them be tenderly admonished of such their undertakings ; this will not offend the lowly, upright mind ; neither will the honest-minded, who through a temptation may be drawn into such a snare and danger, take any occasion to stumble, because his deeds are brought to light. And if after mature deliberation, any are manifested to be run into any danger of falling, or pulling others down with them, let them be faithfully dealt withal in time, before hope of recovery be lost, by honest, faithful friends, who are clear of such things themselves, and be admonished to pay what they have borrowed, faithfully and in due time, and be content with their own, and to labour with their own hands in the thing that is honest, that they may have wherewith to give to him that needeth, knowing that it is more blessed to give than to receive. (Acts xxii. 35). And if they hear, and are thereby recovered, you will not count your labour lost ; but if they be high, and refuse admonition, it is a manifest sign all is not well. Let such be admonished again by more friends, and warned of the danger before them ; and if they still refuse and reject counsel and admonition, then lay it before the meeting concerned about truth's affairs, to which they do belong ; and if they refuse to hear them, then let a testimony go forth against such their proceedings and undertakings, as not being agreeable to the truth, nor the testimony of a good conscience, neither in the sight of God nor man ; this will be a terror to evil-doers of this kind, and a praise, encouragement, and refresh-

ment to them who do well, and nothing will be lost that is worth saving, by this care: for he that doth truth, whether in spiritual or temporal matters, will willingly bring his deeds to light, that they may be manifested to all, that they are wrought in God.

‘ These things lay weightily upon me, and I may truly say, in the sight of God, I writ them in a great cross to my own will, for I delight not, nay, my soul is bowed down, at the occasion of writing such things; but there is no remedy, the name of the Lord has been, and is likely to be greatly dishonoured, if things of this nature be not stopped, or prevented for time to come: therefore I beseech you all, who have the weight and sense of these things upon you, let some speedy and effectual course be taken to prevent what possibly we may, both in this and all other things, that may any way cloud the glory of that sun, which is risen amongst us; and make this publick, and sent it abroad to be read in true fear and reverence, and let all concerned be faithfully and plainly warned, without respect of persons, by faithful friends, who have the care of God’s glory, and his churches peace and prosperity upon them: so will the majesty and glory of God shine upon your heads, and you shall be a good favour of life, both in them that are saved, and in them that are lost.’

‘ Written by one who longs to see righteousness exalted, and all deceit confounded.

‘ Ambrose Rigge.’

Catton Place, in Surry, the 16th of the
Eleventh Month, 1678.

This year (1721) divers friends, according to former practice, by appointment of the national meeting went over to attend the Yearly meeting at London; and particularly Thomas Wilson, who not only visited friends there in the service of the gospel, but tarried a considerable time at London, where he joined his assistance to friends there, who were soliciting for

ease in the solemn affirmation ; and it pleased the Lord to bless their endeavours with success, the king and parliament granting such an amendment in the affirmation as made it easy to all friends, to their no small comfort and joy ; which laid the foundation for the same indulgence afterwards granted also to friends of this nation, as we shall see in due time.

The form of the first affirmation granted to friends in England, in the year 1696, was as follows : ‘ I A. B. do declare, in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say.’

The form of the affirmation granted this year to friends of England, and afterwards to friends of Ireland, to universal satisfaction, was this : ‘ I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely and truly, declare and affirm.’

In the year 1721 died, John Exhain of Charleville, having been convinced whilst a soldier, about the year 1658, and being faithful, according to his sense of his duty, he became zealously concerned to visit the small gatherings of friends in those early days, having received a gift in the ministry, which although somewhat obscured by some natural infirmities, yet in the exercise thereof, he did oftentimes deliver wholesome and profound truths.

About the year 1667, he proclaimed repentance and amendment of life through the streets of Cork, his head being covered with hair-cloth and ashes, for which he suffered imprisonment. He was concerned in the like exercise in the same city, in the year 1698.

In the year 1710, being the eighty-first of his age, and when almost blind, he gave a singular instance of the fervour and constancy of his love to the brethren, by performing a religious visit to the greatest part of the families of friends throughout this nation ; in which service it appeared evident to those who were witnesses of it, that he had a spirit of discerning, for he often-times spoke very pertinently, without having received any information from men, to the particular con-

ditions of several where he was thus concerned. He was a man of an innocent life and conversation, just in his dealings, merciful to the poor, and well beloved by his neighbours and friends, and seldom missed any opportunity of giving good counsel. He continued his residence at Charleville through many difficulties and hazards during the last war. He was greatly devoted to meditation, commonly spending many hours in a day in retirement: was esteemed to have had a prophetick gift, divers particular instances whereof cannot at this distance of time be collected; but the two following are well attested.

1st. Whilst he was performing the visit to the families above-mentioned, being in a certain room, he called out and enquired who was there present; and then told them, there was among them a youth upon whom the Lord would pour forth his Spirit, and that he should visit several nations, which was accomplished; a certain young man then present, having afterwards received a gift in the ministry, which he exercised to the edification of the churches both at home and abroad.

2d. Whereas before the accession of king James II. to the crown, the earl of Orrery had a great house at Charleville, then a splendid structure, unto which there was frequently a great resort of company. At one particular time, when a large company of great persons were there assembled, spending their time in feasting, mirth, &c. John Exham had an impulse on his mind to go to the house, and call the people there met to repentance, which he accordingly did (a large crowd following him) and denounced the Lord's judgments, and wo, to that great house, and that it should be destroyed, and become an habitation for the fowls of the air. Hereupon the earl's servants attempted to drive him away; but the earl commanded them to let the honest man speak. Having delivered his message, he went away, but in a little time returned back,

and called for the earl, and said to him, ‘ Because thou hast been kind and loving to the servant of the Lord, the evil shall not be in thy days. The event answered the prediction ; for the great house above-mentioned, in the time of the late wars, since the decease of the earl above-named, was destroyed by fire, and visibly became an habitation for the fowls of the air, which built their nests in it.

The said John Exham died in the ninety-second year of his age, having been a minister sixty years, and retained his zeal and integrity to the last.

This year (1722) was memorable for the favour shewn by the legislature to friends of this nation, in granting them a plain affirmation (in many necessary cases) instead of an oath, in the following words, viz. ‘ I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm :’ which was granted for three years, and to the end of the then next session of parliament.

In the year 1723, being the sixtieth of his age, and about the twenty-seventh of his ministry, died John Barcroft of Arkill, near Edenderry. He was the son of William and Margaret Barcroft, born at Shralegh, near Rosenallis, in the Queen’s county, in the year 1664. He was the first friend who came to settle near Edenderry after the wars, to which meeting he did belong, and was very helpful at that time, to encourage some few families to meet together to worship God, and became very serviceable in that meeting, which is since become large.

He was religiously inclined from his youth, a zealous attender of meetings for the worship of Almighty God, and a diligent waiter therein, whereby he grew in the knowledge of God, and of the mysteries of his heavenly kingdom ; and about the thirty-third year of his age, it pleased God to call him into the ministry of the word and doctrine ; but being a modest man, he became possessed with great fears, when first per-

suaded that the Lord would call him to this work, both from the various censures of men, to which he must be exposed, and from his observation of the misconduct of some, otherwise lively and of large experience in the ministry, who yet at times did hurt both to themselves and the people, by sometimes exceeding the bounds of their gifts, and multiplying words without life. Under these fears and reasonings with flesh and blood, he was greatly exercised, until the Lord forsook him for a season, but was afterwards graciously pleased to visit him again, when he gave up to the heavenly call, and in process of time became a diligent and successful labourer for the good of souls, both in this kingdom and in England; having visited the meetings of friends in the provinces of Ulster and Munster, severally, eleven times in the service of the gospel, to his own soul's peace, and the edification of the churches, and been ten times at the Yearly meeting of London.

His ministry was plain and lively, nor was he forward to appear without real necessity. He was not slothful in his outward affairs, but managed them with discretion and prudence; yet was fervent in spirit, and freely given up to serve the Lord, his church and people, and preferred the prosperity of Sion as his chief joy. His conversation among men greatly adorned his profession, being pleasant and cheerful, yet grave, meek, and humble, preferring others before himself; a peace-maker, being singularly helpful in composing differences, an useful help-meet in the government of the church, being gifted for that service, and at the same time ruling well his own house; a frequent visitor of the sick, charitable, and given to hospitality.

In the year 1718, being at London, he was under a particular exercise of mind, from a sense he believed to be given him of the Lord, of a dreadful day of

mortality that was coming upon the inhabitants of England, and particularly the city of London, which he was concerned to publish at Devonshire-house meeting, and some other places; and in the year 1720, at Dublin, he published a prophetick warning to the inhabitants of Great-Britain and Ireland, to dread the Lord, and turn from the evil of their ways, before his fury break forth upon them as an overflowing scourge, setting forth that the measure of the sins of many seems now to be full, and that the Lord had shewn him that the stroke of mortality is near at hand, and that he will surely visit speedily with a great and heavy scourge, if not prevented by repentance.

In the first month, in the year 172 $\frac{3}{4}$, being about the seventy first of his age, and forty-seventh of his ministry, died at Hillsborough, Alexander Seaton; who was born at Cuttlecrags, near Lethinty, in Aberdeen county in Scotland, about the year 1652. About the age of seventeen years he was put to the college of the old town of Aberdeen; and after being there about two years, was some time at the house of Alexander Forbes, of Achorthies, whose wife was his kinswoman; and they being friends and exemplary, it pleased the Lord to open his understanding, so that he was convinced of the truth in the year 1675. He was afterwards further informed and confirmed by being present at a dispute between Robert Barclay and George Keith, and some students there; and in the year 1676, he was committed to prison in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, with many more friends, and there detained about nineteen months. In this time his mouth was opened in a living publick testimony to the truth, which he continued to bear afterwards when at liberty, labouring in the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and being instrumental to turn people from darkness to light, and from the

power of satan to God: in Scotland, Ireland, and England.

Some time after his marriage, he took up his abode and resided for some years at Glasgow. A pretty hot persecution then falling on the few friends that were settled there, both by the magistrates and a rude multitude of men and women, who not only beat and abused friends in their meetings, but, haling them thereout, abused them in the streets to the danger of their lives, and committed them to prison; whereupon this our friend found himself engaged in mind to dwell at Glasgow, not only to bear a part of the burden in the heat of that time of persecution, but also for the strengthening, comforting, and encouraging his brethren to faithfulness and constancy, through various tribulations and persecutions; which had so good an effect that he was instrumental, by the Lord's assistance, to overcome the persecutions, so that friends enjoyed their meetings more peaceably than before; but the people being settled in their empty professions, without an openness to receive the truth, he was clear to leave the place; and in the year 1699, he came from Glasgow, with his family, to Ireland, and settled in the town of Hillsborough, in the county of Down. During all the time of his living there, until he grew infirm, he duly attended meetings at home, as also the monthly and provincial meetings; in which he was of good service both in doctrine and discipline, having a large, sound, and clear gift in the ministry; and although a scholar, was not much known to be such in his services for the Lord, not esteeming that learning in comparison of the gift of God, and the operation of his Holy Spirit; under which he was a zealous, faithful, humble, and meek labourer in the work of the ministry, to the informing the understandings of the ignorant, and to the comfort and encouragement of Sion's travellers; prudent, considerate, and sea-

sonable in offering his gift, powerful in prayer; in discipline of a deep and solid judgment, often helpful in difficult cases; a man of good understanding, having been engaged in disputes with several priests, on divers religious subjects, upon which he reasoned with great clearness; a man of few words in conversation, and ignorant in the things of the world. He used daily to devote some part of his time to religious retirement, and adorned the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ by a solid deportment and exemplary conversation. In the latter part of his time he was very much afflicted with bodily weakness; which he bore with patience and resignation, and died in great peace and quietness, having, among many other sweet expressions on his death bed, declared, that he had partaken of the earnest of that joy which should never have end.

In the year 1724, and the eighty-fourth of his age, died Thomas Wight, of the city of Cork. He was the son of Rice Wight, minister of the town of Bandon, who was the son of Thomas Wight, who was also minister of the same town, who came from Guildford, in England. His father, Rice Wight, was a zealous man in the discharge of his office, and more devoted and tender in that respect than the generality of the priests, and very strict in the education of his children, according to the manner of the church of England. His son Thomas served an hard apprenticeship with a clothier in Bandon, and whilst in his service hearing of a Quakers meeting to be held in that neighbourhood, he went to it out of curiosity; but finding that the people sat silent for a long time, he began to be very uneasy, and to think within himself, that as he had heard the Quakers were witches, he might be bewitched if he should stay longer. However, he waited a little longer, until Francis Howgil stood up and uttered these words: ‘Before the eye can see, it must be opened; before the ear can hear, it must be unstopped; and before

the heart can understand, it must be illuminated.³ These three sentences, as Francis opened them to the congregation with great clearness and energy, made a deep impression on his mind, and he became, in a great measure, convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached; but the prejudice of education, and the shame and reproach he underwent from his relations for going to the Quakers meeting, did very much wear off the impression received; until Edward Burrough came to visit friends and the people in the work of the gospel in those parts, whose preaching was so powerful and reaching to the state of his soul, and accompanied with such an evidence of truth, that he, with many others, was no longer able to withstand it; and now he resolved, through divine assistance, to be faithful, according to the light received, through all difficulties that might attend; and indeed he became as a proverb and a bye-word among his relations and acquaintance, which he bore with patience, not running into unnecessary disputation, but rather giving himself up to silence, solitude, and reading the holy Scriptures. In a short time he betook himself to the plain language, and plainness of apparel, from a principle of conviction in himself, upon which account he was rejected by his relations, and lived for some time with his master, who had a great respect for him, because of his singular faithfulness and trustiness in his service.

In the year 1670 he married, and in process of time had a numerous family, whereupon he betook himself to pretty much business, both in the cloathing trade, and in commissions from abroad, and in all probability might, in a short time, have acquired a considerable share of worldly riches; but he was stopped in the pursuit hereof by an illumination, as he thought, from heaven, deeply affecting his mind with a sense to this purpose, that he could not be heir of two kingdoms. Hereupon he grew more

retired from the world, and the concerns thereof, and devoted in his mind to the service and promotion of truth, preferring this before transitory riches ; and particularly, became an able scribe and clerk for the meeting of Cork, and for the province of Munster, from the year 1680, till his death ; discharging this office from a religious impression on his mind, and zeal for the good cause. He was also the person principally concerned in compiling an historical account of the first rise and progress of truth in this nation ; which he finished in the form of Annals to the year 1700, and which was the ground work to the present history. He was a man of an exemplary life and conversation, and good conduct in the education of his children, a pattern of plainness, and a diligent attender of meetings both at home and abroad, being zealous for the promotion of truth, both in the particular and in the general. He was seized with an indisposition which proved mortal, in the Ninth month, 1724 ; under which he shewed great composure of mind, and resignation to the Lord's will ; and on his death-bed testified his great satisfaction that he had not put off the great affair of the salvation of his soul to the last ; signifying that God had sealed his salvation to him : to the great comfort of those present.

A provincial visit to the several monthly meetings in Leinster (1725) was performed by friends nominated from the several parts of that province for this purpose.

In the year 1725, being about the seventy-first of his age, and forty-fifth of his ministry, died Thomas Wilson, who was born at Soulby, in the parish of Daker, and county of Cumberland, and educated according to the manner of the church of England ; and, whilst a youth, had great hungerings in his soul after righteousness and the true knowledge of God and Christ ; at which time he was a diligent

attender of sermons, and repeater of them, delighting in these things as religious duties; sometimes, after sermon in the forenoon, travelling eight miles on foot to hear another in the afternoon; but the more he sought to hear, the more he found his inward hunger and thirst increased; and in the time of singing of psalms a thoughtfulnes seized him, that men should be made holy before they could sing to the praise and glory of God, and his mouth was stopped from singing with them, through a godly sorrow possessing his heart, with humble prayers to God, for the knowledge of the way of salvation, he being now become weary both of the heavy load of sin, and of the doctrines and worship of mens making. After long travail of soul, the Lord was graciously pleased to make him sensible, that what was to be known of God was manifested *in man*; about which time he went to a meeting of the people called Quakers, where a friend exhorted to an inward waiting upon the Lord in faith, to receive power from him over every unclean thought; by which heavenly power men might glorify and praise the name of the Lord through the ability of his own free gift. This affected him greatly, being sensible that this was what he much wanted, being the word of grace, which the apostles of our Lord preached, and turned the minds of men unto; and great fear and trembling seized him, so that the table whereon he leaned was shaken, and he was full of inward cries to this purpose; ‘Lord, create in me a clean heart.’ And now was the time of the Lord’s anger, because of sin, shewing him, and condemning, all the evil that ever he had done, and he became willing to dwell under the Lord’s judgments, being convinced that this was the way to obtain mercy; and now he found that he must cease from the doctrines of men, and hearing the priests, and repeating their sermons (exercises which he had before delighted in), and

must mind the gift of God within himself, and sit down among friends in their silent meetings, to wait upon the Lord in retiredness of mind, for his heavenly teachings and holy leadings; in the performance of which inward worship the power of God did wonderfully break in among them, and many were convinced of the inward work of God, and turned to the Lord with all their hearts; the friends in general became very tender and heavenly-minded, and had great love one to another; the heart-melting power of the Lord being much felt and inwardly revealed when no words were spoken; and they experienced what the apostles exhorted the primitive Christians unto, viz. Christ to dwell in them by faith, and the renewings of the Holy Ghost to be increased and shed on them abundantly in their meetings; whereby some were so filled that they were concerned to declare, and preach the things of the kingdom of God, and what he had done for their souls. Among the rest, this our friend came forth in a testimony for the Lord, in very great fear and much trembling; the word of the Lord through him was as a devouring fire against all sin and iniquity, and he soon became concerned to visit meetings in neighbouring places; and indeed did spend the prime and flower of his days in the service of truth, in many years travail in the work of the ministry, both in England, Ireland, and America; before his marriage, which he did not accomplish till the fortieth year of his age. He was an able and faithful minister of Christ, freely given up to go forth in publick service in the Lord's acceptable time, preferring truth's service before his worldly concerns. His ministry was powerful and persuasive, and a lively zeal, mixed with love, attended it; and his labours were successful to the turning many to righteousness: he had milk for babes, and meat for them of riper years; was skilful in laying open the mysteries of life and salvation, as also the mystery of iniquity; careful

not to minister without the heavenly power that first raised him up in the ministry ; profound in heavenly mysteries, yet plain and clear in declaring them ; excellent in distinguishing matters of faith and principle, to the general satisfaction of the people ; a pattern of plainness and humility ; and, although eminently gifted, chose rather to give way than to stand in the way of any who had a word from the Lord to speak ; zealous for the due observance of the ancient rules and discipline, settled in the church by our faithful elders, maintaining that the order and the government of the church was established by the same Divine Spirit which the true ministry sprung from ; and that all who speak in meetings for discipline, should wait to have their words seasoned with grace, and the influence of that Divine Spirit by which the order and government of the church was first set up.

He was a man of good natural abilities, but little school literature ; of a grave and reserved deportment, avoiding popularity and imprudent familiarity ; yet, at times, very cheerful in conversation ; cautious of giving just offence to any ; not busy beyond his calling. He was sometimes awfully concerned to speak prophetically of a time of great mortality approaching, and did also declare to this purpose, that the Lord would send his servants into the Popish countries, to preach the gospel, which should spread and prevail in those dark parts of the earth, though some might seal their testimony with their blood.

His first visit to Ireland was in the year 1682, concerning which something singular occurs in his journal, which seems not unworthy of notice in this place. Having landed at Dublin, and from thence travelled to some other meetings, particularly the province-meeting at Castledermot, and visited friends in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, and had several heavenly and satisfactory meetings with them, some little time after, says he, 'the motion of life in me

for travelling ceased, and I durst not then go further; but returned back to the county of Wexford, and wrought harvest-work at Lambstown for some time; after which James Dickenson, from Cumbefland, came to visit friends, with an intention to go into Munster, and the Lord was pleased to open my way to go with him, and we travelled together in true brotherly love, and had a prosperous journey, and I saw it was good to wait the Lord's time in all things." When they had travelled through Leinster and Munster, James Dickenson went Northward, but I was afraid,' says Thomas, 'of running before my true guide (because they who run, and are not sent of God, can neither profit the people nor themselves) and so I staid at work in the city of Waterford about sixteen weeks, and went from thence to Dublin, and staid at the Half-year's meeting, which was large and very good, and so took shipping and landed at Liverpool, with my former companion, James Dickenson.*

In the year 1691, he and James Dickenson, having both had a great exercise on their minds to visit friends in America, went to London, and laid their intentions before the brethren there for their concurrence, which they readily met with; but it seemed to be a dangerous time, and was attended with some accidents, which proved a signal trial of their faith: for the French had then a great fleet at sea, and while they were at London the rumour was, that it lay about thirty or forty leagues from the Land's End of England, in the way they should pass. This brought great concern upon them, with many supplications to the Lord, that if it were his blessed will they might be preserved. Under their deep trial of soul on this occasion, they were both supported by what they believed to be an opening or vision from the Lord, that it was his holy will to deliver them. James had

* See Thomas Wilson's Journal.

a more particular foresight, even of the manner of their deliverance, and told his companion, whilst they were both yet at London, that the Lord had shewn him, that the French fleet would encompass them, but that the Lord would send in a great mist and darkness between them, in which they should sail away, and see them no more. They freely imparted their minds to one another before they left London, and their openings agreeing with one another, they were confirmed in their belief of their divine original; and being strong in faith that it was easy with the Lord to deliver them, they went on board the 9th day of the Fifth month, 1691, and after some time of sailing, they met with the French fleet, who gave them chase, coming up within musket shot of them, and began to fire at them hard, a broadside at every time, when on a sudden a great mist and thick darkness was interposed between the French and them, so that they could not see one another. Then James arose from his seat and took Thomas by the hand, saying, ‘Now, I hope the Lord will deliver us;’ having so far seen the completion of his vision. Thomas, on this occasion, was exercised three days in fasting and supplication to the Lord, that he who in time past smote his enemies with blindness, might be pleased to do so now, which that it was graciously answered, the event convinced them; for the French took all the ships of their company, except the ship which T. W. and J. D. were in, and two more; and all those on board believed the deliverance to be miraculous; and those two ships of their company that escaped, soon after came up with them, and the captain of their vessel, being a very kind man, called to those in the other two ships, to come aboard them, and have a meeting with them; which they readily did, and had a large and good meeting, giving glory to the Lord’s holy name for their great deliverance. They pursued their

voyage, and landed at Barbadoes in the Sixth month, 1691.

Here, in conjunction with his beloved friend, James Dickenson, the labours of our friend were great, as also in New-England, Rhode-Island, Long-Island, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Antigua, and Mevis, where many were convinced by him: in some of which places he passed through great perils by sea and land, lodging out in the woods in the winter season. This visit was particularly serviceable to the brethren in Pennsylvania, happening at a juncture when many were staggering in their principles by means of an opposition and separation made by George Keith, a man who had been of some note among friends, a writer of many books, of reputation for learning, and appearing as a minister, whose peevish disposition and pride of heart soon appeared to faithful friends, and those he called a party against him. Upon the arrival of our friend and James Dickenson, he endeavoured to gain them, who, as strangers and worthy friends, might otherwise be a weight against him; but it was to little purpose, Thomas soon perceiving the spirit and design of the man, and the evil tendency of that separation, and stood faithful in his testimony against it, to the comfort of many who mourned in those times of trial and desolation; nor was our said friend without a sight of the downfall of that perverse spirit, as the event discovered, having at times boldly declared it, and it soon after came to pass.

He visited Ireland in the service of the gospel several times before he came to settle here. In the year 1695, he was married to Mary Bewly of Woodhall, in Cumberland, and soon after came into Ireland, and settled near Edenderry, in the King's County. In the year 1696, he visited friends in England in the work of the ministry, and again in Ireland after his

return home, still approving himself a diligent and zealous labourer, and having meetings in many places among strangers, of whom some received truth in the love of it, and continued faithful thereunto. From the year 1697 to 1713, he often visited friends in this nation and in England, within which space he was seven times at the Yearly meeting in London; and in the year 1713, he undertook his second voyage to America, on truth's account, again in company with James Dickenson, in which second visit he had also great service, and was comforted in seeing the fruit of his former labours.

He continued a zealous labourer in the gospel, even in advanced years, visiting friends in England in the year 1721, and at home until the year 1724, when his natural strength failed; and now, near the conclusion of his time, he rejoiced that he had served the Lord in his day, and laboured to promote the truth in his generation; yet as he always had been an humble-minded man, so with respect to himself, near the finishing of his Christian course, he said, ‘ Notwithstanding the Lord hath made use of me at times to be serviceable in his hand, I have nothing to trust to but the mercy of God in Christ Jesus;’ but he was not without an evidence of his everlasting peace in the kingdom of God.

In 1726 a general Province-visit was performed in Munster.

Benjamin Holme, who came over to this nation in the year 1724, spent about two years in the service of the gospel, and continued his labours this year, having meetings at places where no meetings had been held before, not only among friends, but strangers also, who were willing to come to meetings, and many of them heard him with satisfaction, and confessed to the truth of the doctrine by him preached. He had, particularly, several meetings at Cork, a meeting at Kinsale, at Bandon, Ross, Castlesalem,

Skibbereen, and Baltimore; at Dunmanway, in the market-house, he had a large and pretty satisfactory meeting, notwithstanding Scofield, the priest of the place, made some disturbance, though several of his hearers were displeased with him on that account, and spoke well of the meeting, and of what they had heard declared. At his return to Cork he not only had meetings among friends, as they fell in course, but likewise visited most of the families of friends there, to their comfort and edification. He also went Westward a second time, and had meetings at Klonakelty, Timoleague, Bandon, Mallow, Middleton, Youghal, Tallow, Castlelyons, Capperquin, and Dungarvan, where many attended and seemed well disposed to hear the testimony of truth. He had also, for the benefit of strangers, divers meetings in the county of Tipperary; as at Carrick, Fethard, Piltown, Clonmel, Cashel, and Tipperary; went to Limerick, and thence into the county of Kerry, in the year 1725, accompanied by Charles Howell, and several other friends from Limerick, from whence they went to Rath-keale, where they had a meeting among the Palatines and others, in whom there appeared an open disposition to hear the truth declared; next had a meeting at Newcastle, and then at Listowel, and at Lixna, where four friends went to visit the earl of Kerry, who kindly received them, and gave liberty to most of his family to go to the meeting. He likewise told friends, that if some of them would come to settle there, they might gain more by their conversation than by their preaching. Their next meeting was at Ardfert, from whence they passed to Tralee, and had two meetings there in the court-house, where many persons of high station in the world were present; and truth was freely declared in the demonstration of the spirit, and to general satisfaction. He had several other meetings in the county

of Cork, and afterwards in several places in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Limerick ; and at Ennis, in the county of Clare, where he met with some disturbance from one Upton, a priest and justice, who came in a furious manner, and demanded of B. Holme, by what authority he stood there, and commanded the constable to pull him down, which he did, though with some reluctance, and conducted him and friends to the said priest and justice, whose doings some present resented, and B. Holme reasoned with him, telling him, that the king allowed liberty of conscience, and it was hard that his peaceable subjects should be thus treated for no offence committed ; after which he grew cool, and quietly dismissed B. H. and friends, and Benjamin had good service among the people.

He had many meetings among the Presbyterians in the North. At Letterkenny he met with some opposition from William Span, priest and justice of the peace, who sent for him and his companion, John Sharpless, of Edenderry, and asked Benjamin if he had any letter of recommendation from his friends ; and he having a certificate from the friends where he dwelt, shewed it to the said priest, who notwithstanding this, said he would commit them, if they would not take the declaration of fidelity to the king, tendering them that made in the sixth year of the reign of queen Anne, which faith, ‘ you shall defend to the utmost of your power.’ They said, they were very free to promise to be true and faithful to the king, but not willing to promise to defend him to the utmost of their power, because that might be construed, that they should take up arms and fight if required, which they could not do ; whereupon he, being angry, wrote mittimus’s and committed them both : but the landlord and constable persuaded him to let them stay a day or two in town, before he sent them to the county gaol, which was

at Lifford, about ten miles distant, to which he consented; so being prisoners in their inn, Benjamin wrote a letter next day to —— Forster, bishop of Raphoe, acquainting him how they were committed: the bishop read the letter, and wrote to the said priest, who soon after sent for them, and set them at liberty, upon their taking the declaration of fidelity made in the second year of the reign of king George, in which are not the words, ‘you shall defend to the utmost of your power.’

The meetings he had among strangers were generally satisfactory, peaceable and without molestation, except some few places, and among the rest at Thurles, where, having appointed a meeting, he met with great disturbance, chiefly from the Protestant priest of the town, Walter Thomas, who, as they had grounds to believe, sent for the kettle-drums and trumpets to beat and sound in the time of the meeting, to whom Benjamin wrote a letter, representing to him how opposite such conduct was to a Christian spirit and temper, and reasoning with him from the Scriptures concerning several things which the said priest had objected against our friends.

Another instance of the like scoffing spirit appeared at Kildare, where a meeting having been appointed, while they were at it, a piper was brought in to play amongst them. After some time Benjamin began to speak, and having spoken awhile, Edward Medlicot, under-sovereign of Kildare, came and ordered the constable to take him away, and put him with another friend into the stocks, which he did, and there also the piper was ordered to play, to prevent the people from understanding what might be said unto them; nor did he meet with much more civil usage two or three weeks after, when he appointed another meeting at the same place.

The said B. H. continued his labours here until the Third month National meeting, 1727, when he

returned to England, having, besides his good service in the ministry, been exercised in visiting the families of friends, and in private, friendly, Christian visits, to brethren and strangers, to both of which he also wrote many epistles, breathing forth the spirit of true Christian love, and ardent zeal for the promotion of the life and power of truth among the professors thereof. One specimen I shall here give of an epistle of his, dated at Dublin the 3d of the Third month, 1727.

‘ To the teachers among the Presbyterians, that refuse to subscribe to the Westminster confession of faith.

‘ As I believe in charity that you refuse to subscribe to the Westminster confession of faith upon a conscientious footing, I desire that you may live up to what the Lord makes known to you to be your duty; and I wish that no interest or preferment may ever prevail with you to go against conviction, or to sin against knowledge: and as you are sensible that there is great discourse and division at this time concerning the Westminster confession of faith, I believe it would be great satisfaction to many well-inclined people, if you would mention the particular articles in that confession that you think not safe for you to sign, with your reasons for not signing. I confess I am glad that it hath pleased the Lord so far to open your understandings, as to let you see that it is unsafe for you to sign several things that are in that confession; as for instance, it faith, ‘ That God, from before the foundation of the world, predestinated some men and angels to destruction, and others to life everlasting, and that the numbers are so fixed or definite, that none can be added to the one, nor diminished from the other.’ Which is contrary to what Peter saith, Acts x. 34, 35. “ Of a truth I

perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him;" as also it is very opposite to what the apostle Paul saith, 1 Tim. ii. 4. that "God willetteth all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." And I think that in the larger catechism, where it is said that God hath fore-ordained whatsoever comes to pass, is very unjustifiable; for we read in Jer. vii. 31. "And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart." Which makes it plain that this was not fore-ordained. Also they say in the said catechism, that no mere man, neither of himself, nor by any grace given, is able to keep the commands of God, but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed, which renders God to be a hard master, and his ways unequal, if what the wise men faith be true, Eccl. xii. 13. "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man;" although we freely own that no man by his own power and strength, as he is man, is able to do the will of God or any thing that is good, yet we believe there is power and sufficiency in that divine grace of which the apostle saith, Tit. ii. 11. "The grace of God which brings salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world." It was by the sufficiency of this divine grace that the young men that we read of in the first epistle of John ii. 13. knew an overcoming of the wicked one; and it was by the power of this that the apostle could say, that he was able to do all things. We believe, as the Lord said to the apostle when he was buffeted by a messenger of satan, 2 Cor. xii. 9. "My grace is sufficient for thee;" there is power

in this divine grace to enable men to resist the enemy in all his temptations, and to enable them to do the will of God, and keep his commands, as they take heed to it. And we think that in the confession of faith, where it is said that swearing, when called before a magistrate, is a part of the worship of God, is very contrary to the doctrine of Christ and the apostle James, Mat. v. 34. James. v. 12. with some other things in that confession of faith and catechism, which we think are not agreeable to the holy Scriptures. So with desires that the Lord may more and more open your understandings by his holy Spirit, and bring you to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, I remain, with true love to you, your loving friend,

‘ Benjamin Holme.’

The act for the affirmation granted to friends of this nation in the year 1723, expiring, solicitation was made for a renewal of it, which was now granted them for the term of seven years, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, under this restriction, that he or she, the affirmer, shall produce a certificate, signed by six credible friends, of their having been of the profession of the people called Quakers, for at least five years then last past, if thereunto required.

It having been represented from Ulster province to the National meeting, that the little book entitled, ‘A Brief Apology,’ by Alexander Pyott, &c. had given great satisfaction to divers, particularly among the Presbyterians, in that province, concerning our principles, with a request that it might be reprinted, fifteen hundred of them were reprinted accordingly, in order to be distributed among the people.

This year several friends of the province of Leinster and Munster, viz. George Rooke, Thomas Duckett, William Brookfield, Benjamin Parvin, John Russel,

Tobias Pim, Charles Howel, and William Penrose, performed a visit to the Monthly meetings in the province of Ulster, for the promotion of church-discipline, and several of them also had good service in the ministry of the gospel, and their visit was to the edification of friends and their own satisfaction.

Our ancient friend James Dickenson, often mentioned elsewhere, was at the National meeting this year, and offered to their consideration, whether it might not be of service to collect the total annual sufferings of friends in this nation, from the beginning; as also an account of the number of prisoners, and of those who died in prison, together with the respective governments under which those several sufferings were sustained, and of remarkable persecutors, and likewise of those who shewed favour to friends; which proposal was well accepted and put in execution, and the account printed in the year 1731.

Among other ministering friends who visited this nation this year (1728) was Jane Fenn, from Pennsylvania, who besides her good services in the gospel, both among friends and strangers, did also, in company with our friend Jane Gee, of Moate, perform a visit to most of the families of friends in Dublin. In our public meetings she sometimes spoke prophetically to the following purpose: that a terrible storm and distressing time was approaching, even as at the door of this nation, by reason of a sin, if not diverted by speedy repentance. Also, that notwithstanding the seeming degeneracy of the youth among friends, God's visitation was extended to them, and should be effectual to the raising up divers of them for his service.

This year also was printed by order of the National meeting, a Reply, wrote by Samuel Fuller, late school-master in Dublin, to certain subtle queries, published by Joseph Boyce, an eminent Presbyterian teacher, tending greatly to the dishonour of friends, and mis-

representing their doctrines, which are very well answered by the said S. Fuller, author also of a short catechism composed for the instruction of youth, afterward printed in the year 1733.

This was an afflicting year to the province of Ulster, (1729) occasioned by scarcity of bread, and sickness prevailing among them; and though our friends, by the love subsisting among brethren, were preserved from being burdensome to others, yet the distribution to the indigent, both among friends and others, being heavy on some in this calamitous time (several friends having largely contributed to the support not only of their own brethren, but of persons of all other societies) a free and voluntary subscription was made by friends of Leinster and Munster provinces, of one hundred and sixty-seven pounds for the relief of friends of Ulster.

This year, being about the seventieth of his age, died Joseph Pike, the son of Richard Pike, of Newbury in Berkshire, who came over to Ireland a corporal in a troop of horse in Cromwell's army, and continued therein until about the year 1655, when, by means of the ministry of Edward Burrough, he was convinced of the truth, and for conscience-sake could not use arms for the destruction of mankind, and was therefore turned out of the army, and died a prisoner for the testimony of a good conscience. His son Joseph Pike, was born at Kilcreagh, in the county of Cork; upon whose tender mind the divine spirit began to work very early, even before he was seven years old, drawing it off from childish playfulness and vanities, from which time, until he arrived at the age of eighteen years, he underwent great conflicts of soul; and at length grew up to be an useful member of the church, though never exempt from temptations and trials of faith. He was a man of self-denial, being often led to take up the cross and

deny himself of things otherwise very lawful, as to eating, drinking, and putting on of apparel, when he found his mind too strongly inclined to them.

Although he had not a call to the ministry, he was eminently gifted for Christian discipline, and zealous in the prosecution thereof, as by the following instances may appear: he and Samuel Randal almost constantly travelled from Cork to attend the Half-year's meeting in Dublin, both summer and winter, for about twenty years, heartily joining with faithful brethren in the service of truth, according to ability. He also went frequently to the Yearly-Meeting at London, on the same account, where his service was acceptable. He was particularly, in the year 1692, zealously engaged to join with the brethren, in the concern then upon them, for a reformation among friends of divers disorders in conversation, superfluities in apparel, furniture and other things, that were then creeping in fast upon them: and as he, in conjunction with his brethren, was careful previously to their entering on this weighty service of admonishing others, to cleanse their own houses of those superfluities which were to be condemned; the work accordingly prospered in their hands, and there was a pretty thorough reformation as to outward things in the families of friends, both in the province of Munster, and throughout this kingdom; although our friend lived to have cause to complain (in the year 1728, when he wrote a journal of his own life) that as of old, when Moses, Joshua, and the elders were dead, there arose another generation that knew not the Lord, nor the works that he had done in Israel, the like disaster had befallen our society now, with respect to the spiritual state of a surviving generation, compared with that of their forefathers.

He wrote a treatise concerning baptism and the Lord's supper, and a discourse concerning church-government (yet in manuscript) wherein he shews

the necessity of it, and its conformity as practised among the people called Quakers, to that in the primitive times.

I shall conclude with the short sketch of the character of this elder, given by the brethren at Cork, where he chiefly resided, viz. ‘He was a man of a clear understanding, sound judgment, tender over the weak where tenderness appeared, but sharp against the high-minded and stubborn; in conversation solid and weighty, without affectation, yet cheerful and agreeable without levity; a worthy elder, ruling his own house well, and of great service in the church.’

A provincial visit was made to the several particular meetings in the province of Ulster (1730), which was well received, and it was believed proved helpful to many.

This year (1731) died Thomas Braddock, at Ballitore, in the county of Kildare. He was educated a member of the church of England, but grew uneasy under their forms without the power of religion; serious considerations concerning a future state, and his unpreparedness for it, sometimes seizing his mind, and affecting him with great trouble and earnest supplication to Almighty God, that he would be pleased to shew him his people, that he might join with them, being persuaded that God had a people that were nearer to him than those he was then in communion with. He has left behind him in manuscript, an account of the exercise of his soul on this account, of which the following is an extract in his own words.

‘ As for the Quakers, I thought they could not be God’s people, because they denied the two great seals of the covenant of grace as they were called, so that I thought they being wrong in that, must be wrong in every thing else, though I had a liking to their conversation, and was inclined to go to one of their meetings, and see what sort of worship they had: I

knew they had no man appointed to preach to them, and what they meant by their silent meetings, I could not tell. I went however to one of them, and sat with them about half-an-hour, when the great power of the Lord came upon me, and made me fetch many deep sighs and groans, with tears; and a trembling came over my whole body, so that I was forced to take hold of the seat on which I sat, to keep myself from falling. I was very much ashamed to appear in that condition before so many people, but I could not avoid it; and then the voice of the Lord came unto me, and said, 'These are the people thou must join with, and if thou be faithful, I will be with thee to the end of thy days, and thou shalt have life everlasting in the world to come.' I gave up freely to the heavenly vision, and was willing to obey the Lord's counsel; and the shaking and trouble abated, and I sat pretty quiet until the meeting was ended. My wife meeting me, asked, whether I had been at a Quaker's meeting; I answered, 'Yes.' She further queried whether they had any preacher; I answered, 'Yes; and the best of preachers.' She did not know that I had heard the holy Jesus, but thought that I had been hearing a man. Then it was that the great work of the Lord began in me, and the light shined in my heart, and gave me to see the poor, lost, bewildered, dark, and deplorable condition, that I had hitherto lived in, as without God in the world: then were many sins brought to my remembrance with great trouble; and many sorrowful days and nights I passed, with earnest cries to the Lord for pardon, yet supported at times by the loving visitations of the Almighty, to let me see that he had not forsaken me.

Thus was this our friend made a Quaker by an invisible power, and by the same power was the work of reformation and sanctification begun in his soul, and now his prejudices against this people, as denying the two

great seals of the covenant of grace so called, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, vanished ; for he calls this blessed exercise of his soul, his Christian Baptism : but now many enemies attacked him, both from within and without, with rage and passion sometimes, which he overcame with the meekness of a lamb.

In process of time he became concerned, not only for the salvation of his soul, but was sometimes seized with great trouble, trembling, and tears, on the account of the unfaithfulness of others, particularly in meetings for worship, where words did arise very lively in his mind, tending to the edification of those present, which it seemed to be his duty to deliver ; but he, through weakness, refusing to yield obedience to the heavenly call, the divine presence was for a time withdrawn from him, and he left barren, and at times given up to lightness ; yet it pleased God in great mercy again to visit his soul, and let him see his error ; and indeed this our friend was a most signal instance of the tender mercy and long forbearance of a gracious God ; for in the year 1725, even in his old age, and about eighteen years after his disobedience before-mentioned, a fresh concern came upon him to utter some words in a publick meeting, in testimony to the Lord's goodness to his soul, and rendering to the awakening the carnal professors among friends. This second trial, however, was to him almost as hard as death, being a man of great humility and modesty, conscious of his own weakness, and tossed with many doubts, fears, and carnal reasonings, and greatly distressed both in body and mind. At length, however, he gave up to the Lord's requirings, and delivered what he gave him to say, to the great peace and comfort of his own mind ; and after that, until his death, was at times concerned in publick exhortation in a few words, but weighty, seasonable, and edifying ; and his conversation was suitable to his doctrine.

About the latter end of this year (1735) our solemn affirmation (without a certificate, as required by the former act) was renewed for eleven years, and to the end of the then next session of parliament.

Besides other friends of the ministry, Benjamin Holme this year visited Ireland the sixth time: he spent three months in the province of Ulster, having meetings there among strangers as well as friends, and after the Third month National meeting, went into the province of Connaught, and returned by way of Sligo, Ballyshannon, and Letterkenny, to Londonderry, having many quiet and peaceable meetings among other people, being often drawn forth to visit them, and open our principles to them, and declare the great love and mercy of God, in sending his Son to taste death for every man. From Ulster he went, by way of Dublin, to Limerick, accompanied by some friends, and thence to the county of Kerry, particularly to Linxnaw, the earl of Kerry's seat, to Ardfert, Tralee, Coole, and Dingle, and had several meetings among the people in that county, who, though many of them were great strangers to friends and their principles, shewed themselves friendly and respectful, especially the Protestant gentlemen of the country, who sometimes protected them from the rabble; in general they were well received, and Benjamin was heard with great satisfaction, in his plain, clear, and demonstrative way of preaching the doctrines of the gospel and terms of salvation. At Mill-street, where the congregation was for the most part of the worse sort, when they heard a hint of purgatory, several of them rose and went off, crying, 'Glaush,' i. e. Come away. From thence he returned to Cork and to Waterford, where he visited the bishop, as he had done before the bishops of Londonderry, and Down, and Conner, &c. who received him very kindly, and to some of the bishops

he wrote letters, and sometimes presented them with books, as the Treatise on Oaths, another on Tithes, &c. He departed from hence, and returned to Great-Britain, in the Twelfth month, 1736, leaving to friends of this nation a farewell epistle.

It was observable this year (1736) as well as for some years past, in time of outward peace and tranquility, that many of other societies frequently resorted to friends meetings, whose understandings were opened, and their prejudices removed with regard to friends principles, so that it may be affirmed that the testimony of truth prevailed, notwithstanding the degeneracy and unfaithfulness of too many under this profession, who were as stumbling blocks in the way of some.

This year, being about the seventy-fourth of his age, died William Gray, at Ballyhagen in the province of Ulster, a worthy elder, whose services in the church were considerable for above thirty years, although not called to the ministry till towards the latter part of his life. He was given to hospitality, of a grave and solid deportment, of a good understanding and a ready utterance, yet modest, and diffident of his own abilities, helpful in composing of differences, and often speaking pertinently to matters in meetings of business, being well acquainted with the rules of our discipline. He grew in his concern for the prosperity of the church, as he advanced towards the period of his days, being, six years before his decease, concerned at times in publick and tender exhortation, and in meetings for business, seldom omitting to advertise friends to faithfulness, care, and circumspection, in an orderly conversation, and diligence in the worship of Almighty God.

Among other friends who visited the nation this year (1737) in the work of the ministry, was David Hall, from Yorkshire, who at his departure, wrote an epistle to friends, which was ordered to be printed

for a general service, containing divers weighty advices suitable to the different stations of the several members of the church, and cautions against some evils and disorders too much prevailing in this time of our outward ease and liberty, particularly negligence of attending meetings for divine worship, living above our abilities, deviating from the plain language, marriages with persons of other persuasions, &c.

This year also afforded an opportunity of reviewing and digesting those several matters, which have been the usual subjects of the correspondence between Monthly and Quarterly meetings, which, being reduced to the form of queries, were offered to the consideration of a Quarterly meeting held at Mountmelick, and from thence to the National meeting, which in the year 1740, recommended them as proper to be answered from the several Monthly to the Quarterly meetings through this nation, a copy of which follows, &c.

Query 1. Are meetings for worship, both on week-days and First-days, duly attended, as also those for discipline; and are such as are negligent herein admonished; and is care taken that no unfit persons sit in the latter?

2. Do the larger meetings assist and strengthen little meetings that are near them?

3. Do friends keep to plainness of habit, speech and furniture?

4. Do they avoid superfluous provisions at marriages and burials?

5. —— Unnecessary frequenting of ale-houses and taverns?

6. Do they so manage their affairs in trade and dealing, as to keep their words and promises in the payment of their debts and otherwise?

7. Do friends avoid incumbrances, hindering their growth in the truth, and the service of it?

8. Are friends in unity one with another; do they avoid back-biting, and raising or spreading evil reports of any; is care taken to put a speedy end to all differences?

9. How are the several advices of our National meeting, and that of London, put in practice, relating to friends godly care of the good education of their children in the way of truth, sobriety, plainness of habit and speech, and all godly conversation; and do friends instruct their children in the principles of truth?

10. Are friends children put to school among friends, and are the schools of friends duly inspected?

11. Are the poor taken due care of, and do their children partake of necessary learning to fit them for trades? Are apprentices and servants placed out among friends?

12. Doth each Monthly meeting take care, that a visit to the family of friends be performed by well-qualified friends, once a year, or oftener, as occasion requires?

13. Do friends acquaint particular or Monthly meetings, and take their advice, before they remove from their place of settlement?

14. Do friends maintain their testimony against paying or receiving tithes, church-rates, and all kinds of priest's dues so called; as also against bearing of arms?

15. Do any propose marriage without first obtaining the consent of parents or guardians?

16. Is care taken to deal with and censure transgressors in due time?

17. Have all friends settled their outward affairs, by wills or deeds of trust, according to their present minds and circumstances? Is care taken that executors, guardians, and trustees, do faithfully discharge the trust reposed in them?

18. Are all meeting-houses and burial-places firmly made over and secured, and kept in good repair?

19. Are births and burials duly recorded?
20. Doth each monthly meeting take care that none under our profession defraud the king of his duties, custom or excise, or any way encourage the running of goods, by buying or vending such goods; and do they severely reprehend and testify against all such offenders, and their unwarrantable, clandestine, and unlawful actions?
21. Is care taken by each monthly meeting, that no misuse is made of the affirmation?

A general visit was performed this year to all or most of the men and womens meetings in the province of Leinster.

In the year 1739, and eightieth of his age, died John Dobbs, at Youghal, who although not called to the ministry, was such a shining example of sincerity and self-denial, that the following passages of his life seemed worthy to be recorded.

He was the eldest son of Richard Dobbs of Castle-Dobbs, who was a counsellor at law, and justice of the peace of the county of Antrim, from whom he was entitled to a considerable estate; of which he suffered himself to be deprived purely for religion's sake. He gave divers proofs of an early disposition to piety, some of which it may be worth while to specify. When he was about eleven years old, a certain person asked his father, the said Richard Dobbs, what he intended to bring his son up to; his answer was, to the clergy, and he did not know but Johnny might come to be a bishop. The child hearing this, says within himself, 'It is a great concern to take the care of other mens souls upon me; it is well if I can look well after my own.' At school he made some considerable proficiency in the Latin and Greek tongues, and afterwards applied himself to the study of physick; but during this time a holy thirst possessed his soul after a knowledge of greater importance;

whereby he might obtain peace with God. He was grieved with the loose conversation of his companions at school, and upon some converse with the gentry of the country, their tippling disposition became burdensome to him, and he deserted them. He went afterwards to the university of Oxford, from a desire to enquire further into the principles of true religion ; but, in his road to it, he met with a somewhat discouraging observation from a certain person he casually fell in company with at York, who remarked that there were many gentlemen in the country, who were afraid of sending their sons thither lest they should be debauched. He found there was too much ground for this observation, for when he came to Oxford, he was much grieved at the profaneness of the students there, and at first put himself in the way of conversing with them, with a design to use his best endeavours to reform them, but found this to be labour lost ; and, to be brief, was not easy to stay long at the college, but obtained liberty of his father to return home.

He had an esteem for the people called Quakers, from his observation of the innocence of their lives and conversations among men ; and his mother, Dorothy Dobbs, having joined herself in community with this people, he had an opportunity of perusing several books written by some of them ; but before the nineteenth year of his age, he had proceeded no farther than to entertain good wishes for them, his father having threatened to turn any of his children out of doors that should go to their meetings ; notwithstanding which, in a short time after, being desirous of hearing their testimony himself, and an English friend, Thomas Dockra, visiting Carrickfergus, and having a meeting there, John went thither, and before that meeting was over, was so effectually convinced of the truth of their testimony, that he, from this time, continued stedfast in community with that people. This was very disagreeable to his father,

who endeavoured, first by persuasion, to bring him off from that way of thinking ; but this proving ineffectual, he had recourse to blows, and other great severities, which he exercised on this tender youth, which he bore with great patience and constancy ; particularly in keeping him prisoner in his house about half a year, in 1683 and 84, during which confinement, at a certain time meeting him with his hat on, he fell furiously on him, and beat him grievously on the head with a cane, to that degree, that he fell into a fever on it, nor did he ever entirely recover the injury thereby received. Besides this, he deprived him of his right in his estate, which in the year 1681, was three hundred and sixty pounds per annum, leaving him by will only ten pounds per ann. during life, to keep him, as he said, from starving, or relying on those seducing people. But all this could not taint his integrity. His mother dying whilst he was young, who had been his constant friend and support under his hardships, his father would not see him, nor suffer him to come into his presence ; and so having none to support him, and there being no likelihood of a reconciliation, he was necessitated to leave his father's house, and went to England and learned chymistry with Charles Marshal, and making further progress in the study of Physick, he returned to Ireland, and practised it here with reputation, and lived and died in strict unity with friends, being an innocent and religious man, one that avoided popularity, was more in reality than appearance, and cared not how little noise the world made about him, so that he enjoyed peace with God.

In the year 1739, being the sixty-fifth of her age, and about the forty-second of her ministry, died at Waterford, Elizabeth Jacob, the daughter of Thomas and Agnes Head, who was born at Ardee ; and afterwards lived in Dublin, where she underwent many and deep conflicts of soul, before she became resigned

to the Lord's requirings, in bearing a publick testimony, which she did first in that city about the year 1697, and in the year 1699, was joined in marriage to Richard Jacob of Limerick, to which place she removed, and was of great service there, being, through her obedience to the heavenly call, made a chosen vessel for the use of her Lord and Master, fitted by his power and spirit for his work and service; in the discharge of which she greatly desired to be found faithful and clear of the blood of all men, being fervently engaged for truth's prosperity, and the promotion of godliness in the earth, on the account whereof she was freely given up to spend and be spent in many laborious journies, both in this and other nations, not only in her youth, but even in her advanced years, and when attended with bodily infirmities; particularly in the year 1701, she travelled in the North of Ireland, thence passed over into Scotland, and had good service there and in the North of England. Again, in the year 1705, she visited friends in divers counties in England, and was twice at London, where she had large and satisfactory meetings. And in the years 1711 and 1712, she visited friends in Scotland, and in many parts of England and Wales, for above ten months, and by the Lord's power was made an instrument of good unto many; and in the year 1729, she visited friends in divers counties of England, and passed over to Holland in truth's service.

She had a clear and distinct utterance in her ministry, which was attended with great reverence and tenderness, to the reaching the hearts of the hearers, and continued lively in the exercise of her gift to the last. She was fervent and weighty in prayer, and a good example in conversation, being preserved by the truth in circumspection and fear, yet of a sweet and cheerful spirit.

In the year 1712 she wrote, from Worcester, an epistle of love to friends in England, which was printed,

and contains a farewell exhortation to friends families, wherein she addresses herself first to the elders, setting forth that, ‘ Whereas there is a great declension from the primitive plainness, simplicity, and sincerity, into which truth led our faithful predecessors, this is owing to the prevalence of the spirit of the world, pride, covetousnes, self-interest, and fleshly ease ; and, in order to a reformation, earnestly exhorts such who are fathers and mothers, and as pillars in the church, carefully to observe the operation of the Lord’s holy Spirit, and to be often inwardly attending on the wonderful counsellor, whereby they will be enabled to set up an holy discipline in their own families ; and that this godly care in families is the only expedient for a right reformation in the churches : that it is not enough for the elders, fathers, and mothers, masters and mistresses, who have in any measure tasted of the good word of life, and of the powers of the world to come, carelesly to retain a knowledge of what they have experienced in times past ; that God hath not lighted their candles to be put out again or to be hid under a bushel, but that they ought daily to wait upon and supplicate the Lord for the renewing of his love and life, that their lamps may be kept trimmed and their lights shining, and they be a sweet favour of life unto life, their conversation answering the witness of God in the hearts of their children, servants, and neighbours, stirring up the negligent to a lively commemoration of the Lord’s mercies, and exercising their Christian authority, in the management and settlement of their own families in that decent order we, through the mercy and wisdom of God, have been established in : thus will parents be good examples to their children, and masters to their servants ; and that indeed the heads of families are, or ought to be, the Lord’s ministers, ruling them in the power of love, and thereby ordering them rightly in life and manners ;’ and concludes

with this warning to the unfaithful, ‘ that if the love of God to them, through his spirit and through his servants, will not prevail, the Lord will be clear when he judgeth, as he was in the destruction of the old world, and of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.’ She next tenderly addresses herself to the children, cautioning them against divers evils, dangers, and temptations, peculiar to their age, as pride or affectation of new fashions in apparel, whilst the adorning of the better and immortal part is neglected; as also against the needless friendship and familiarity with those of a different persuasion in matters of faith, whereby many have been betrayed into unequal marriages, to the wounding their own souls, great trouble of their tender parents, and the destruction and ruin of many families.

A provincial visit was this year (1740) performed in Ulster. And here it may be observed, upon a review of the foregoing records, that in the province of Ulster, general visits to that province, and for the most part to the several monthly meetings therein, were performed in the years 1699, 1702, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1720 or 21, 1727, 1730, and 1740. In the province of Leinster the like general visits were performed in the years 1699, 1707, 1711, 1714, 1720 or 21, 1725, and 1737. In the province of Munster the like general visits were performed in the years 1699, 1708, and 1726.

This year (1741) and in the eightieth of his age, died John Ashton, of Kilconinmore, in the county of Tipperary, though a native of Cheshire, who, about the fortieth year of his age, was convinced by the lively ministry of Thomas Wilson; and soon after his convincement was cast into prison, on account of his faithful testimony against the payment of tithes, and continued a prisoner about six months.

His zeal for the worship of Almighty God was remarkable; for whilst he was a member of the meeting at Birr, he generally walked thither twice a week,

though it was five miles of dirty road, and he was often obliged to wade through a river in his way, and sometimes in winter time to break the ice, where-with his legs and feet have been wounded.

His zeal also for the propagation of truth, and love to the souls of his neighbours, was manifest in the following instance; that when friends travelling in the service of the gospel, came to his house, he took great pains to invite the people near him to come and partake of the benefit of their labours; for which purpose it was his frequent practice to ride several miles round, and this in the night as well as day, and even in the depth and severity of the winter season; and though some returned scoffs and abusive speeches, yet many came and were well satisfied, and some convinced, and among the rest some of his own servants; and a meeting was settled at his house in the year 1710, which still continues.

He was a man of hospitality, and of a tender spirit, sympathizing with the poor and afflicted.

About the sixty-second year of his age, he received a gift in the ministry, in the exercise of which he was particularly zealous in testifying against the follies and vanities incident to youth, with respect to a conformity to the never-settled fashions of the times. In the year 1733, he with another friend, visited friends in sundry counties in England, as also in North-Britain.

This year died at Dublin, Joseph Gill, born at Skelton in Cumberland, in the year 1674, the son of William Gill, from whom he received a religious education, which with the concurrence of the divine blessing, and his own endeavours, was greatly improved to his spiritual advantage.

He manifested an early zeal for the worship of Almighty God, in preference to the pursuit of worldly gain; and when his outward business increased and prospered, was seized with a holy fear, lest the multitude thereof should obstruct the spiritual exercise and

engagement of his mind, for the acquisition of heavenly riches.

In the early part of his life, he frequently accompanied ministring friends in their travels through several parts of this nation, and met with great consolation and encouragement in so doing.

In the year 1709, he was led to settle his outward affairs and lessen his business, in pursuance of a secret impression then made on his mind, that he ought to be at leisure to follow the Lord as he should be pleased to lead him, being resigned to what he believed to be the divine will concerning him; though at this time he had no distinct perception of his being called to the ministry. However, in the year 1711, being the thirty-seventh of his age, his mouth was first opened in the assemblies of the people called Quakers, but with great fear and concern of mind, by reason of divers suggestions of the enemy, which in process of time were overcome, and he proving faithful to his sense of the divine requirings, grew in his gift, and became a diligent and zealous labourer therein, to the edification of the churches both at home and abroad.

In the year 1711 he visited the meetings of friends in Ulster province, in company with Richard Sealy, when, at Coothill, James Sympson (who was bred a scholar and intended for a Presbyterian teacher) was convinced, who became a serviceable man, and suffered imprisonment in Cavan gaol for his testimony against tithes.

In the year 1713, he had drawings in his mind to visit friends in Ulster province again, but wanting a companion, and not deeming himself strong enough, waited until the arrival of Luke Cock, a ministring friend from England, and accompanied him in his travels to that province. After this he very frequently performed visits in the work of the ministry, to the

meetings in Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, and sometimes in Connaught, where he had also meetings among strangers; and besides these visits at home, he, at different times, visited friends in divers parts of England and Scotland, and in the year 1714, in the Isle of Man; and in the year 1734, he took a voyage to America on the same account, where he travelled five thousand five hundred and seventy-two miles, and was at three hundred and eighty-two meetings.

He was diligent in attending the meetings of discipline, as well as worship, and not only those at home, but particularly the Yearly meeting at London; and from the year 1712 to 1741 inclusive, was thirteen times at the said Yearly meeting.

He was a man of exemplary life and conversation, and given to hospitality. As he drew near the conclusion of his days, he had this comfortable reflexion to make, that he had preferred the service of truth before the busines of this world; and declared, that although he had several opportunities of enlarging his temporal possessions, he durst not embrace them, lest he should thereby be hindered from the discharge of his spiritual duties. He also signified his sense, that although the church was now in her sable weeds, and mourning seemed her present portion, yet that he believed the Lord would cause Sion to shine and become the beauty of nations. He died in a devout frame of mind, in this the sixty-seventh year of his age, and thirtieth of his ministry.

This year died at Dublin that honourable elder and minister George Rooke, the son of Thomas Rooke, born in the parish of Boulton in Cumberland. He had been educated in the church of England, but about the twentieth year of his age, being convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached by John Greaves, a minister among the people called Quakers, he joined himself in society with them, and proving faithful, according to his sense of his duty, about the twenty-

fifth year of his age, his mouth was opened to declare unto others his own experience of the Lord's goodness, and he became early engaged in travelling abroad in the work of the ministry, zealously and cheerfully devoting his strength and youthful days to the propagation of the gospel, and promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth; particularly in the year 1679, he travelled on foot to Scotland on this account, accompanied by Peter Fearon. In the year 1681, he visited friends in all their meetings in Scotland a second time, and the same year came to Ireland and visited most of the meetings of friends through the nation, as he did also in the year 1684, and some time after his return, visiting friends in Westmoreland, and bishoprick, he had a meeting at Stockton, where the mayor of the town sent one of his officers to bring George before him, and when he came, tendered him the oath of allegiance and supremacy: but because George, for conscience sake, refused to swear, the mayor would have had him enter into bonds for his good behaviour, and to appear at the next quarter-sessions: George told him, he was bound to good-behaviour already. ‘Have you been with some justice of the peace that has bound you already?’ said the mayor. ‘No,’ said George, ‘but I am bound by my principle to behave myself towards the king and all his subjects as becomes a Christian.’ ‘But for all that,’ said the mayor, ‘you must enter into bonds.’ ‘I cannot,’ said George, ‘for I believe thou wilt call that a breach of good behaviour, which I think is good behaviour.’ ‘What is that,’ said the mayor, ‘I suppose,’ said George, ‘thou wilt call it a breach of good behaviour, if I go to one of our meetings before next quarter sessions?’ ‘Sure enough, I shall,’ said the mayor. George said, he would not bring any of his friends into that snare to leave them bound for him. ‘It is but about a month,’ said the mayor, ‘to the sessions, and cannot you forbear going

to meeting so long?' 'No,' said George, 'if the Lord spare me health, I can no more forbear going to meetings, than Daniel could forbear praying to his God, although the decree was but for thirty days.' So the mayor committed him to Durham gaol, where he was kept prisoner till the sessions, when he was again committed and kept prisoner about a month longer, because for conscience-sake he could not swear.

In the year 1685, he visited friends in Ireland a third time, and again in 1686, when he married and settled in Limerick; yet still continued laborious, and frequently travelled abroad in the exercise of his gift, for the edification of the churches; and indeed his ministry appears to have been clear and convincing even among strangers, of which an instance occurred in his travels through Wales, where, at a meeting he had at Haverford-west, one of his hearers, who had a right of the presentation of a parish called St. David's Head, was so far affected by his preaching as to make him an offer of it; but he was not one of those ministers who seek for reward or support from men.

He continued his habitation in Limerick in the years 1689 and 90, in the troublesome time of the wars between king William and king James, and during the first siege; but before the second siege, while king James's army had possession of the city, he removed himself and family to Cumberland; but notwithstanding these troubles, he still continued laborious and fervent in spirit, in visiting the meetings of friends, and in the year 1692, again visited the brethren in Scotland.

In the year 1693 he returned to Ireland, settled, and continued his residence in Dublin the remaining part of his life, during which time, whilst of ability, he frequently visited friends in the three provinces, and sometimes had meetings in places where no

meetings of friends were settled : he also sometimes visited friends in England and Wales, and was frequently at the Yearly meeting of London. He was a very diligent attender of meetings for worship, and those for discipline, and was scarce ever absent (unless when engaged in travelling elsewhere in truth's service) from the Province and Quarterly meetings, until disabled by infirmity of body.

He was a man of good understanding, though but little school-learning ; of a sweet temper ; in conversation pleasant and affable ; an affectionate husband and father ; a tender and sympathizing visitor of the sick : he was a diligent and faithful minister, and his labours were often crowned with success, to the conviction of several, who proved eminent and serviceable men in the church, and the edification and establishment of others. In the exercise of his gift he was clear, solid, and lively, even unto extreme old age ; in prayer, living, reverent, weighty, and concise. In his deportment meek and humble, not elevated by his gifts and good services ; far from being desirous of exercising lordship over God's heritage, frequently declaring, that he did not judge ministers to be of an order above other men, and that he and all others in the ministry, ought willingly to refer their doctrines to the divine witness in the consciences of their hearers. He was a diligent reader of the holy Scriptures, and in his preaching a faithful quoter of them. He retained his integrity, as well as understanding and memory to his end, and departed this life in the ninety-first year of his age, and about the sixty-seventh of his ministry, and appears to be the most ancient minister mentioned in these records.

This year, there being apprehensions of an intended invasion of England from France, friends drew up an address to the king, signifying their fidelity and good affection to his person and government, which was as follows :

* To George the Second, king of Great-Britain and the dominions thereunto belonging.

* The humble Address of his Protestant Subjects, the People called Quakers, in the kingdom of Ireland.

‘ We thy dutiful and peaceable subjects, with hearts truly sensible of the many blessings and privileges we enjoy under thy paternal care and protection, beg leave at this critical conjuncture, when thy dominions are threatened with an invasion in favour of a popish pretender, to express our sincere and hearty abhorrence of all plots and conspiracies against thy person and government.

‘ Duty, gratitude, and interest, unite to engage us in a firm attachment to thy royal person, and the Protestant succession in the illustrious house; and we are determined, by divine assistance, to continue unshaken in these sentiments, and conformable to our known principles to do the utmost in our power for promoting the peace and welfare of this nation.

‘ The kind indulgence granted us by the legislature in our religious scruples, the free access we have had to the several chief governors of this kingdom since thy accession to the throne, and the readiness shewn for our relief, whereof we retain the most grateful and lively sense, lay us under additional obligations of duty and fidelity.

‘ May the same divine Providence that defeated the attempts of the enemies of our constitution, in the rebellion against thy royal father, and which hath lately protected thee in imminent danger, preserve thee and thy royal family from the wicked designs of all your enemies, whether foreign or domestic. May the Almighty guide thy counsels by his wisdom, and render them effectual for the re-establishment of peace and tranquillity, and grant thee a long and prosperous reign over us. May the British throne be always

filled with one of thy royal offspring, to transmit the blessings we enjoy to future ages.

‘ Signed in Dublin, in behalf of the said people, the 31st of the First month, called March, 1744, by

John Barclay	Joshua Clibborn
Peter Judd	Edward Stephens
Henry Pemberton	Lancelot Whitehead
Daniel Bewley	John Powel
Edward Fawcett	Aaron Atkinson
Joseph Fade	Isaac Ashton
James Johnston	Thomas Handy
John Rutty	Issachar Willcocks
Samuel Judd	Joseph Willcocks
Benjamin Dawson	Gherret Hassen
Paul Johnson	Henry Ashe
Robert Clibborn	John Willcocks
Francis Russell	Samuel Russell
Thomas Strettell, junr.	Thomas Goulbee
Robert Unthank	Samuel Morton
Jacob Ford	Samuel Summers
Robert Jaffray	John Beetham
Joseph Barcroft	Jonathan Fletcher
John Goulbee	Joseph Green
Robert Gill	Abraham Robinson
Jonathan Strettell	William Willan
John Dawson	Isaac Jackson
Ambrose Barcroft	Richard Pearce
Samuel Sharpley	John Pim
William Greenhow	Jacob Goff
Thomas Chandley	William Richardson
John Barclay, junr.	James Forbes

It is worthy of observation, that whilst the neighbouring kingdom of Great-Britain was disturbed both with a foreign war, and a rebellion at home, this nation, under the prudent administration of our chief governor, enjoyed a profound peace; and at the same time we were favoured with the visits of divers worthy brethren and sisters in the ministry, some from Great-Britain and others from America, who crossed the seas in this service at the hazard of their lives.

Also, whereas the act of parliament for granting friends an affirmation in all, except criminal cases, and for qualifying for places of profit and trust, and serving on juries, which was passed in the year 1736, was only temporary, and to expire at the end of the ensuing session of parliament, the present time was thought convenient to make early application for a renewal of the said act without limitation of time, in the same manner as friends elsewhere enjoy it. Wherefore the friends who attended the last Yearly meeting at London, did there wait on the earl of Chesterfield, the lord lieutenant, requesting his advice and friendship in our intended solicitation, which he with great cheerfulness granted them, and on his arrival here, encouraged friends to petition the House of Commons this session, for such an act as aforesaid, which they accordingly did with good success, for it passed both houses, *nemine contradicente*, and obtained the royal assent.*

Besides other ministering friends at home, who visited friends this year (1744) Gherret Hassen performed a visit to them in each province, not only in their publick meetings, but in their families, having in this service visited by estimation, three thousand families and upwards, exclusive of those in Dublin, where he had resided some years.

This year died Mungo Bewley, son of Thomas and Margaret Bewley, of Woodhall in Cumberland, from whence he came over to this kingdom, and settled at Edenderry, in the King's County. He was favoured in his youth with a tender visitation of the love of God, and manifested early a fervent zeal for divine worship in the following instance: among his papers was found one which he wrote during the time of his apprenticeship, requesting of his master either to have his work previously allotted to him, in order that he might make

* See the Year 1721.

preparation against the time of the week-day meeting, or that he might be allowed when his apprenticeship expired, to pay for so much time as he should have spent at meetings : and he grew and prospered in the saving knowledge of the truth accordingly, and not long after his coming over to Ireland, a dispensation of the gospel was committed unto him, whereof he became an eminent minister, freely devoting himself to spend and be spent for the promotion of piety in the earth, being diligent in the exercise of his gift both at home and abroad, having visited friends in the service of the gospel in England, Scotland, Wales, Holland, and America.

He adorned his ministry by a grave and solid behaviour ; he was also a man of good understanding, zealous in Christian discipline, and serviceable in visiting the families of friends ; a man of integrity and firmness, industrious in business, upright in his dealings, and careful in the religious education of his children ; cheerful and edifying in his conversation ; compassionate and liberal to the afflicted ; a nursing father to young travellers in the way to Zion ; yet not hasty to lay hands suddenly on such as were more in show than substance, being of a discerning spirit ; and notwithstanding these good qualifications, he was very humble-minded with respect to himself.

He continued lively in the exercise of his gift to the last, finishing his Christian course in the seventieth year of his age, and about the fortieth of his ministry.

This year died at Cork, George Bewley, a faithful minister and elder, his conduct and conversation having been agreeable to his doctrine. He was careful to keep free from the incumbrances of this life, and zealous for the support of good order and discipline in the church. A narrative of his life was published, by the approbation of the National meeting, in the year 1750.

A

SUMMARY VIEW
OF THE
SUFFERINGS
OF THIS
PEOPLE
IN IRELAND.

MANY and grievous were the sufferings which this people underwent at the beginning, merely for being exercised in preserving a conscience void of offence towards God and man, in testifying against the corruptions, superfluities, and excesses, vain pleasures and pastimes, superstitions, dead formality and hypocrisy, prevailing among professed Christians. On these accounts they became the objects of popular scorn and derision; and besides personal abuses, they frequently suffered severe fines and imprisonment. This will appear the less wonderful, when we call to mind and consider the saying of the apostle, Gal. iv. 29. “He that is born after the flesh, persecuteth him that is born after the Spirit.”

But there was one thing which rendered them in a peculiar manner the objects of the rage of a man-made ministry, viz. their conscientious scruple of paying tithes in these gospel-times, as being an anti-christian imposition. Hence was verified among these what was observed of the prophets that caused the

people to err formerly, Micah iii. 5. "He that putteth not into their mouths, they even proclaim war against him." And accordingly the priests were commonly the instruments of stirring up the magistrates, and even the rabble against them; and on the above-named account, viz. their refusing to pay tithes, they very frequently had their goods spoiled and taken away; sometimes to three, six, ten, or twenty times the value, and were often imprisoned and kept prisoners several years, and sometimes unto death; thus sealing with their blood their testimony against the antichristian yoke of tithes, as having been commanded to be paid by the eleven tribes of Israel, to the tribe of Levi, both for their continual service and attendance in the tabernacle of the congregation, and in lieu of their part or share in the land of Canaan, which they were hereupon expressly deprived of (see Numb. xviii. 20, 23, 24.), and not affecting the Gentiles, of whose race we are, but made null by the coming and offering up of Christ Jesus our Lord, on which consideration the satisfying of this demand, in these gospel times, hath been ever deemed, by this people, a virtual (or in effect) denying the efficacy of the coming and suffering of Christ Jesus to abolish the ordinances commanded to the Jews for a time only, of which tithes was one, from whence the imposition of them has been by them called an antichristian yoke of oppression upon Christians.

To enumerate all the instances that might be given of their sufferings on this account, were to fill a large volume. A compendious view of their sufferings in this kingdom, for not satisfying this and other ecclesiastical demands, such as building and repairing the places called churches, burying and christening (so called) their children, and churching their women, even when none of these offices had been done for them, was published in Dublin in the year 1731; where is also a narrative of their sufferings for con-

science-fake on several other accounts, whereof I shall here give a brief sketch, as follows :

For not going to the church, so called, but meeting together purely to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their consciences, they were cruelly used, indicted, greatly fined, had their goods spoiled, and were long imprisoned ; and when there was a prospect of their enlargement, because they could not satisfy the unjust demand of fees, as having done no wrong (thus bravely, though passively, asserting their Christian liberty), some of them were detained in prison, and others stripped of their clothes and then turned out.

There was one occasion more of their suffering, whereof we meet with frequent instances in the early days, which (though it may seem very strange, and perhaps to some scarcely justifiable) appears however very reconcileable to the practice of Christ and his apostles, who frequently taught and preached not only in the temple and synagogues of the Jews, but in other places of public concourse,* and to the liberty enjoyed in the primitive Christian churches, where we read that not one man only, but “ all might prophesy (i. e. in the sense of the apostle, speak to edification, exhortation, and comfort) that all might learn, and all might be comforted, and if any thing were revealed to one that sat by, the first was to hold his peace.† What I mean is their practice of exhorting and warning the people to repentance and the fear of the Lord, sometimes in the streets ‡ and markets, and sometimes in the publick places of worship, commonly

* This however uncouth it may seem, through long desuetude, to divers modern Christians, might be further defended by the practice of the great Socrates, whose familiar custom it was, publickly to preach to, or instruct the people in just, grave, and virtuous manners ; and thus he did, frequently, at any time of the day, and in the very streets, as occasion served, and as his good genius moved him ; neither was he an hireling, for he did it gratis.—See Penn's ‘ No Cross, No Crown.’

† 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 30, 31.

‡ See the above note.

after the priest had ended his service; where also they sometimes desired the priests to prove their doctrine, and some even took the liberty of reprobating the priests, when it appeared evident to them that they had preached things false and contrary to Scripture.*

On these accounts they suffered loss of goods, fines, whippings, cruel beatings, and long imprisonment.

The same treatise from whence this extract is taken, gives many instances of great and grievous sufferings they also underwent by spoiling of goods, fines, and imprisonment, for their not daring to break the command of Christ, "Swear not at all;" and some for not fighting.

Nor were their sufferings inconsiderable merely on the account of their conscientiously refusing to take off their hats in honour to man (as deeming this to be a mark of reverence proper to divine worship, according to 1 Cor. xi.) as appears from the following instances in the same treatise.

A. D. 1661. William Edmundson, Thomas Lunn, Richard Faile, William Parker, and Thomas Hutchinson, were fined by judge Alexander, at the assizes at Cavan, seven pounds a man for not taking off their hats.

In the year 1655, Michael Richards, for wearing his hat on in the court of Cork, being sent for thither as a witness about his master, who was then at the bar upon his trial, was by John Bysse, then judge, fined twenty pounds. And for the same offence, at the assizes in New Ross, was John Rodman, committed to gaol by judge Louder, kept a prisoner three months, and then banished that country.

They also suffered greatly by spoiling of goods; and some instances occur in the above treatise, of excommunication and imprisonment on the account merely

* See the compendious View of extraordinary Sufferings of the People called Quakers in Ireland, page 106, 111, 112.

of their following their lawful vocations on the days called holy-days, as judging these observations entirely superstitious, introduced in the dark night of apostacy, and that they were called of God thus to bear an open, public testimony against them.

I shall here subjoin a short extract from the treatise aforesaid, exhibiting the sum total of friends sufferings, and numbers of prisoners under each reign from the beginning, and then conclude with the total annual sufferings to the present time, with a few remarks.

Under the Reign of	No. of Years they reigned.	Value taken.			Prisoners.
		£.	s.	d.	
The Protectors, (so called)	5	86	13	6	101
K. Charles II.	36	3824	16	8½	780
K. James II.	4	1583	14	3	12
K. William & } Q. Mary }	12	13724	9	3½	33
Q. Ann	12	16199	15	3½	13
K. George I.	13	22513	14	10	27
In all		57933	3	10½	966

The annual Sum total of friends Sufferings, chiefly for tithes, priests maintenance, and other ecclesiastical dues so called; and for repair of parish worship-houses, from the year 1727 to 1751, inclusive.

K. GEORGE II.

PRISONERS.

Years	Sums.		
	£	s.	d.
1727	1939	2	2
1728	1777	2	0
1729	921	10	0
1730	368	1	3
1731	1589	19	9½
1732	1591	6	3
1733	1585	0	4
1734	1534	7	4
1735	1458	7	7
1736	1485	18	0
1737	599	17	9
1738	1486	13	7
1739	511	0	8*
1740	1884	6	0
1741	1738	15	7
1742	1532	7	8
1743	1460	9	6
1744	1505	3	11½
1745	1687	14	6
1746	1687	14	6½†
1747	1450	9	3½†
1748	1605	11	1½
1749	1564	11	11
1750	1760	7	8
1751	1743	19	0½
Total . . .	40469	17	6½

Three friends of Charlemont meeting, on account of tithes.

James Simpson, and Joshua Deale, in Cavan gaol, through the severity of Hugh Reilly, a popish tithe-taker under Witnel Sneyd, vicar-general of Kilmore and Adagh, and continued Prisoners above a year.

Joshua Thompson of Carlow Monthly meeting, on account of tithes, who continued a prisoner for some time.

Total . . . 40469 17 6½

* In the year 1739, a certain grievous suffering beset some friends, on a particular occasion, which was owing to the imprudence of some on the one hand, and the inveterate rage of a party on the other, newly awakened; of which it may not be improper to subjoin some account, viz.—On the 5th of the Ninth month, being the day usually celebrated by the Protestants in commemoration of their deliverance from the Gun-powder Plot, certain Protestant journeymen and servants belonging to some friends living at Timahoe in the county of Kildare (where is a settlement of friends amidst great numbers of Papists) did likewise make a fire there on an eminence on that day, which being supposed to have been done by friends, though unjustly (except some giddy young persons who were not so clear of encou-

raging the thing as they ought to have been) such methods of rejoicing having ever been inconsistent with the declared principles and practices of this people on all such occasions, the popish rabble took offence, aggravated the affair by misrepresentations and lies, and carried their resentment to such a degree of insolence and barbarity, that they first burnt friends meeting-house there, and afterwards several of their outhouses, from which proceedings, together with other insults and menaces, there was great reason to apprehend that their fury, unless speedily repressed, would have been extended to many other friends in distant places. Hereupon friends of Dublin made application to the government for protection, and personally to the Duke of Devonshire, then lord-lieutenant, whose great tenderness towards friends on this occasion, deserves to be gratefully commemorated, in sending down instantly upon their application, parties of soldiers to Timahoe, for the protection of friends there, in issuing a proclamation for apprehending the offenders, and ordering a commission of Oyer and Terminer, to bring them to justice; which, although it did not succeed, through a defect in, and gross prevarication among the evidences, was such an instance of the countenance and regard of the government as was of great service; and the damages were afterwards recovered upon the popish inhabitants, according to act of parliament.

¶ To the year 1742 add 18l. 11. 9d. being the damage sustained by several friends of Limerick, Waterford, and Clonmel, by a rude mob of soldiers and others, breaking their windows, &c. because, for conscience-sake, they could not join with the multitude in illuminating their windows, and making bonfires, on the news of a late supposed victory at sea.

‡ To the year 1746 add 27l. 4s. 4d. being the loss suffered by friends of the City of Cork this year, by a rude assembly of soldiers and other rabble breaking their windows, because they could not illuminate them on a night of rejoicing for the victory obtained by the king's forces over the rebels in Scotland, and this not through the least disloyalty or disaffection to the government, they being sensible of the great favour of Providence in delivering them, in common with other Protestant dissenters, from the late imminent danger, but purely for conscience-sake, as believing such a way of rejoicing not to be consistent with the gravity and reverence becoming a Christian on such occasions, nor with that precept in holy Scripture, Psalm ii. 11. " Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling."

On this occasion Primate Hoadley, Robert Lord Newport, and Henry Boyle, Esqrs. Lords Justices, were applied to by friends of Dublin in behalf of their friends of Cork, who wrote forthwith to the mayor of Cork, Walter Lavit, in order to discourage such practices for the future.

† To the year 1747 add 10l. 9s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. being the damage again sustained by friends of Cork this year, on a like occasion as that mentioned last year.

A few Remarks, arising partly from the foregoing account, and partly from a perusal and impartial consideration of the records of the state of the society, from the year 1727 to the year 1748 inclusive, are obvious, viz.

i. That during the reign of our present gracious sovereign George II. whilst the great blessing of liberty of conscience, and of preaching the gospel freely, is

enjoyed, the testimony of truth gains esteem in divers places, and the wrong apprehensions of many concerning friends, are removed.

2. The chief sufferings of friends are for tithes, priests maintenance, and other ecclesiastical demands, and during these twenty-one years, there have been but six prisoners on this account.

3. That sometimes the priests take their tithes both in a cruel and in an illegal manner, which brings hardships on the poor, (which most frequently happened in the province of Ulster) and the rather because divers priests set their tithes to wicked and vexatious persons.

4. It is not less worthy of observation, that in this calm summer-season, when the severe penalties of fines and imprisonments formerly inflicted on friends, for not daring to forsake the assembling themselves together for the worship of Almighty God, are entirely withdrawn, negligence and lukewarmness, with respect to that essential duty, hath crept in and prevailed among the descendants of this once persecuted people ; it being a common complaint during the above-mentioned period, that a conformity to the vain and corrupt fashions of the world prevails among the youth, and a coolness of zeal in attending the meetings of worship and discipline among those of riper years.

5. Though a faithful few be preserved alive to mourn over the declining multitude, yet, as the negligence before-mentioned is undoubtedly an inlet to many evils, these sometimes break forth openly, to the great obstruction of the progress of truth, and stumbling-blocks are thrown in the way of the sincere inquirer : nevertheless, whilst a wholesome discipline is continued to be exercised on offenders, the society is no longer justly chargeable with the scandal hereby given.

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